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Women's Involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events: A Hope and Strengths Perspective

By

Celine Freeman-Gibb

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Kinesiology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2016

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Women's Involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events: A Hope and Strengths Perspective

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August 23, 2016

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication.

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I explored women's experiences as participants in Highland Games Heavy Events within a Hope and Strengths Perspective, which is underpinned by Duality of Structure. Through 12 semi-structured interviews with eight athletes and four athletic directors, I examined 1) the history of women's involvement in the sport of HGHE within North America, 2) how female competitors have a) shaped and b) been shaped by their experiences in HGHE and 3) the newspaper coverage of women HGHE athletes as compared to a) their male counterparts (HE participants) and b) other female participants (in piping and dancing) from 1995-2015. Participants explained their past and current experiences within the HGHE community and how their strengths (both physical and psychological) linked to necessary human and financial resources. A content analysis of newspaper articles showed that female and male coverage of HGHE was almost equal, and largely positive in tone. A textual analysis of those articles documented patterns of female coverage including gender marking, infantilization and sexualisation.

DEDICATION

To my hope and strengths enhancing family, your guidance and positivity made this a journey ever so memorable. Thank you.

To the members of the Highland Games Heavy Event community, thank you for welcoming me into your community with open arms.

To the participants in this study, thank you for your interest, kind words, stories and allowing me to interview you.

To all the little girls out there who aspire to wear a kilt and throw heavy things, this thesis is for you.

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Vicky, you are amazing. This process would not have been the same without you. Your constant positivity and guidance did not go unnoticed. Thank you for all of the time, dedication and thought you put into this project with me and for the constant supply of snacks. Talking with you about theories and practices opened my eyes to the world in a different way.

Marcia, we experienced a lot this past year while executing the run, jump, throw, wheel study and co-coaching our girl, Virginia. Thank you for your insights into a gender based sport system and for allowing me to pick your brain about concepts during practice.

Kathy, your insights on theory and research were extremely helpful when it came to understanding my qualitative data. Thank you for agreeing to be my external committee member and for your kind words throughout this process.

Thank you to the Faculty of Human Kinetics for allowing me to continue my education in the realm of sport. Your open door policy is truly one of a kind.

Thank you to my Lancer Track and Field family. It's been seven years with you and I wouldn't trade one day to be on any other team. Thank you for showing me that even when the odds are not in your favour, a victory is still possible.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD(s): Athletic Director(s)

CSAF: Canadian Scottish Athletic Federation

HE: Heavy Events

HGHE: Highland Games Heavy Events

IAAF: International Amateur Athletic Federation

IOC: International Olympic Committee

IWFL: Independent Women's Football League

LOHA: Ladies Ontario Hockey Association

NASGA: North American Scottish Games Association

NS: Nova Scotia

ON: Ontario

SQ1: Sub-Question 1

SQ2: Sub-Question 2

SQ3: Sub-Question 3

USA: United States of America

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Figure 1: Two Category Gender Classification System

Figure 2: Conceptual Drawing of the Theoretical Framework of Hope and Strengths

SECTION 1 INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Highland Games Heavy Events (HGHE), have been around in Canada since the early 1800s. Canada's first Highland Games were held in 1819 (Webster, 2011). They took place in Glengarry, Ontario (ON). These Games have since ended but were the forerunner for the biggest prized games in Canada, which now take place in Maxville, ON. The oldest continuous Games take place in Antigonish, Nova Scotia (NS), which started in 1863. Heavy Events (HE)¹ have been a part of the Highland Games tradition since its origin. To this day, HE continues to be a male dominated sport with over 113 males ranked in Canada, compared to 33 women ranked in Canada (Canadian Scottish Athletic Federation [CSAF], 2016a). Women's involvement in Canadian HGHE only began in 1995.

The first Highland Games in Canada where women were allowed to compete in Heavy Events was held in Fergus, ON. These games are one of the better known festivals in Ontario. At these Games, there were only three competitors in the women's division. Today, the Fergus Games annually host the Women's Canadian Open Championships, which is invite-only and considered the elite² section. They also host a women's division, which is considered an amateur section where participant applications are required.

Since the inclusion of female competitors in HGHE, participant numbers have increased; there are now over 33 female participants across Canada (CSAF, 2016a). This number continues to grow every year as exposure creates interest in the general public. Within North America the rate of Games hosting a women's division continues to grow as does the interest of spectators

¹ See Appendix A for a description of the Heavy Events

² Elite sections are invitation only and require athletes to be ranked nationally

and media coverage. Some other traditionally male dominated sports such as hockey and tackle football have also seen an increase in female competitors (Wong, 2009; International Women's Football League [IWFL], 2015). As more opportunities arise for female competitors in male dominated sports, the likelihood that participation will continue on the upswing seems promising.

When female athletes try to enter a male dominated sport, they have historically been faced with resistance and disapproval (Bryson, 1987; Wong, 2009). Many of these women have learned to use the knowledge and power they already possess and apply it to their fight for an equitable chance to participate in sport. A recent example is the fight of Castor Semenya regarding her ability to compete in track and field as a female competitor. Semenya has talked about how her support systems (family) allowed her to survive and stay focused throughout the adversity of her "sexual identification" (BBC Sport, 2015). Saleebey (2008) talks about his strengths-based-perspective and how it is a different way to view individuals, families and communities. This strengths based approach encourages individuals to look at what they already know and can do. In the case of women attempting to break down the walls put up in male dominated sports, such strengths would include patience, fortitude, perseverance and determination.

As an insider to the women's movement in HGHE, I am privileged to have had experiences that have informed my view about media coverage of HGHE. For example, after winning the Embro Games, a reporter approached me for an interview. After introducing himself, he told me flatly that he had no idea what HGHEs were about. This statement resonated with me. If a reporter, who is covering my sport, doesn't even know the rules, how is he going to do an appropriate job of covering it? The paper did not even care enough to send someone who

was knowledgeable in the sport, which in a way demonstrates a low level of importance of the sport to both the reporter and news team. Whether or not this is the case for most sports reporters, it should not limit the amount of media coverage received by female athletes as compared to their male counterparts. Toft (2011) found when viewing newspapers from over 22 countries including Canada that the amount of articles based on sportswomen was only 9% of the total coverage in each sport section.

Throughout my personal experiences in HGHE I have had many conversations with other female competitors. Some recurring themes have been brought to my attention, such as reporters highlighting sex appeal as well as their femininity rather than athletic accomplishments during interviews (Bissell & Duke, 2007; Kim, Walkosz & Iverson, 2006). A great example from 2015 was when an on-court presenter asked Eugenie Bouchard to “twirl” after her tennis match in January (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC], 2015). Bruce (2012) lays out a handful of patterns the media has used to portray sportswomen; some of these patterns are infantilization, gender marking and appropriate femininity (See Appendix J for a complete list of patterns and definitions).

As female athletes continue to make strides in select male dominated sports there will be many obstacles placed in their way. “Hope” is a concept that can help to overcome obstacles, accomplish goals and generate a positive attitude about a preferred future (Snyder, 2002). Drawing on hope, female athletes can look to the future and work towards creating a HGHE community, of which they can be proud. For example, women in HGHE can examine the experiences of female athletes who entered other male dominated sports and learn from their progress. However, identifying the strengths already existent in HGHE competitions and

athletes, and their use of resources to enhance those strengths, is another effective way to further enhance the sport of HGHE for its competitors, spectators and media reporters.

Four main theories are threaded throughout this thesis: 1) "hope for" a desired personal goal (Snyder, 2002), 2) "hope in" a preferred shared goal (Jacobs, 2005, 2008), 3) the Strengths Perspective (Saleebey, 2009) and 4) Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984). Within Hope Theory, for an individual to be considered a high hope person (able to achieve personal goals), Snyder (2002) identifies three elements need to be present: 1) setting out a goal to achieve, 2) outlining a pathway to reach that goal, and 3) believing in his/her ability to begin and continue on that pathway to achieve that goal. This pathway requires resources along the way: personal resources (Giddens, 1984) would include current strengths (Saleebey, 2009); interpersonal (human) resources (Giddens, 1984) can provide a hope enhancing environment (Paraschak, 2013) (e.g., family, support system) as well as material resources (Giddens, 1984) (e.g., financial support, throwing implements). Finally, the person and his/her community can create a shared "hope in" a preferred future. By framing actions within a Hope and Strengths Perspective individuals are able to draw upon the strengths they already have, and the support of others providing a hope enhancing environment, in order to access needed resources and accomplish what they together imagine as their preferred future.

Main Research Question

What are women's experiences as participants in Highland Games Heavy Events?

In this study, I documented the experiences of female participants in HGHE. I first explored the historical development of female athletes' involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events (sub-question 1), then documented how female athletes have shaped and been shaped by

their experiences in HGHE (sub-question 2). I then compared media coverage between female HGHE athletes, their male counterparts (i.e., male HGHE athletes) and other female participants (i.e., pipers and dancers) (sub-question 3).

Assumptions

Based on previous research and my own personal experiences, I am hypothesising that:

1. “Strong Women”³ have been around for decades. There are countless documents (e.g., McCracken, 2007; Todd, 2007, 2008, 2009) that suggest strong women have been present in society for much longer than most individuals would think.
2. Sport participation is beneficial to females. Based on the Canadian Sport Policy (2012), involvement in sport can provide valuable, enriching opportunities for participants on both a physical (e.g., build strength) and psychological (e.g., increase social skills) level.
3. Sport media is a powerful establishment and has the ability to influence individuals’ thoughts, behaviours and actions specifically related to female athletes (Markula, Bruce, & Hovden, 2010; Wensing & Bruce, 2003; Wright & Clarke, 1999)
4. Participants come into HGHE with a variety of psychological as well as physical strengths and the atmosphere and community of HGHE’s competitions enable participants to enhance and use their strengths, in keeping with the Strengths Perspective (Saleebey, 2009).
5. HGHE participants are shaping and being shaped by their experiences both on and off the competition field in keeping with the Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984; Paraschak, 2000).

³ Strong women are women who have shown their physical strengths through entertainment and competition.

6. Participants in HGHE's develop hope and draw upon needed resources, which according to Jacobs (2005), requires "hope in" a shared future for them competing in this sport.
7. Discussing the experiences of HGHE's participants from a Hope and Strengths perspective will have a positive impact on the participants and on the HGHE community in keeping with the intention of co-transformation, which is part of the practices of hope (Jacobs, 2008; Paraschak, 2013).

Practical and Theoretical Justification

Sub-Question 1

What is the historical development of female athlete involvement in North American Highland Games Heavy Events?

Practical Justification. Delving into the history of women's HGHE has helped to document why and how women have participated in this male dominated sports. The results of this study can help athletes understand how participants have (or have not) overcome barriers in sport through the support of others. The information collected can also increase the number of known female role models who compete in HGHE. This information can be shared with the sporting community of HGHE and other sporting bodies who are seeing a shift from male dominated sports to more mixed sex sports.

Theoretical Justification. There is no research to date that looks at women in HGHE and their experiences within the sport. Any research done has been conducted as part of a history of the Highland Games and not specifically Heavy Event athletics, and more specifically female Heavy Event athletics. Current research touches upon the history of the Highland Games and how it became part of Scottish-American/Canadian tradition (Jarvie, 1991; Webster, 2011). I believe

that I have added useful information that will help to develop the research being done in HGHE and encourage more research to be done in the future. I set out to extend the research in this area by using the theory of gender logic⁴ as laid out by Coakley and Donnelly (2004). I did this by looking at AD and athlete responses and newspaper articles in relation to the theme of gender logic. I am also contributing to the current literature that explores female athlete involvement in male dominated sports.

Sub-Question 2: *How have female competitors shaped and been shaped by their experiences in HGHE?*

Practical Justification. The stories of the women who participate in this study will help aid in the conversation about how women overcome barriers in sport. Their stories will potentially shed light on the topic of support systems and how valuable they are for athletes. Documenting the stories of athletes and their support systems (family members, friends, other athletes, ADs of Games and any other significant people in their lives) using duality of structure will help others to understand the complexity of the sporting lives of female HGHE athletes. This information can be shared with the sporting community of HGHE and hopefully will aid in helping new female athletes find their footing in the sport.

Theoretical Justification. Research on women in HGHE, with a focus on how they shape and have been shaped by their sport, is nonexistent. There has been research done using a hope and strengths perspective related to sport (i.e., disabled sailing (Anderson, 2015), women's football (Krawec, 2014), and Aboriginal peoples and physical activity (Paraschak, 2013). An example

⁴ "In many societies where men have been privileged in terms of legal status, formal authority, political and economic power and access to resources, gender logic is based on a simple binary classification system. According to this system all people are classified into one of two sex categories: male or female." Coakley & Donnelly, 2004 (p. 238)

would be women's football. Krawec (2014) looked at how women who participated in tackle football and women who participated in lingerie football viewed themselves and others. She found that material, human and financial resources were all apparent in how athletes shaped and were shaped by the leagues in which they participated. However, none of these studies have focused on elite female participants in HGHE. I believe that I can add useful information to the current research being done on HGHE and encourage more research in the field of women in sport. I plan to extend the research by using a hope and strengths perspective as well as by adding to the conversation about duality of structure tied to women in sport.

Sub-Question 3: *How does newspaper coverage of women in HGHE compare to their male counterparts (HE participants) and other female participants (dancing and piping)?*

Practical Justification. Women, who have been competing in HGHE for the past few decades, have had their share of newspaper interviews. These women will be able to share their experiences and how they perceive their coverage as compared to male competitors. Their insights may help journalists reflect on issues of gender equity within HGHE when writing an article.

Theoretical Justification. There have been many studies comparing female to male media coverage in sport. For example, Vincent and Crossman (2012) looked at newspaper coverage of the men's and women's Olympic contenders during the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games. This study found that the men's teams in the United States of America (USA) and Canada were twice as likely as the women to have articles and photographs published in the newspaper (Vincent & Crossman, 2012). My study will extend the findings of Vincent and Crossman by comparing

female and male HGHE athletes. To date, the majority of the research has been based on Olympic coverage (e. g., Urquhart & Crossman, 1999; Wensing & MacNeill, 2010).

Other research has focused on major patterns of coverage as identified by Wensing and Bruce (2003) such as gender marking, compulsory heterosexuality, appropriate femininity, infantilization, sexualisation and ambivalence. Sportswomen receive more coverage than they did 20 years ago, but the quality of the coverage is still not the same. If a sport is traditionally female dominated or aligns with societal views of how a female athlete should be portrayed, it is more likely to get coverage than a female competing in a male dominated sport (Bruce, 2008). This research of HGHE female athletes will add to that literature, specifically in terms of media patterns when discussing these athletes' accomplishments.

Exploring the frequency of representation of women in newspapers competing in male dominated sports as compared to males will help to illustrate if there is still a gender gap in Canadian media coverage. This information will extend the sociological research which documents that sportswomen are still underrepresented in the print media of newspapers. My study will help to clarify whether or not in the year 2015, men are still more likely to receive coverage than women when it comes to traditionally male dominated sports.

Theoretical Framework

Sub-Question 1. A conceptual model explaining gender logic in North American society, describes there are only two sex categories being socially constructed in society (male and female); these categories are seen in biological terms (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004; Coakley, 2009). Individuals who fall into one category are hypothesised to be complete opposites of the other category and are held to different normative standards, which is how society defines “gender”. In actuality there are too many biological factors to simply say that sex and gender are

fixed on a binary scale. There is constant movement between the two subgroups of “male” and “female”; the line between them is blurred and fluid.

Figure 1 suggests that anyone who does not fit into the two fixed categories (heterosexual male and heterosexual female) will be considered out of bounds (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004). “Sports have been important sites and activities for preserving gender logic in many cultures” (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004, p 241). Men’s aggression in power sports have traditionally been used by the media to demonstrate their superiority over women, which reinforces traditional gender logic. On the other hand, women who participate in male dominated sports are seen by male competitors as “invaders” who threaten the traditional gender logic of society. This is why girls have been encouraged to participate in select sports that emphasize the traditional female qualities of grace and beauty, such as figure skating and gymnastics. Over the years, many women have challenged this gender logic by pushing these traditional gendered boundaries. Such behaviours usually resulted in young girls being labelled a ‘tomboy’. However, this often escalated to being called a ‘lesbian’ the older the competitors got, regardless of their sexual orientation. To counteract this negative stereotype of elite female athletes in male dominated sports being viewed as lesbians, some women have “done gender”⁵; for example they have reinforced traditional gender logic by wearing makeup, ribbons or bows during their competitions (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004; Coakley, 2009).

⁵ To “do gender” is to reinforce the traditional gender logic dominant within societal practices.

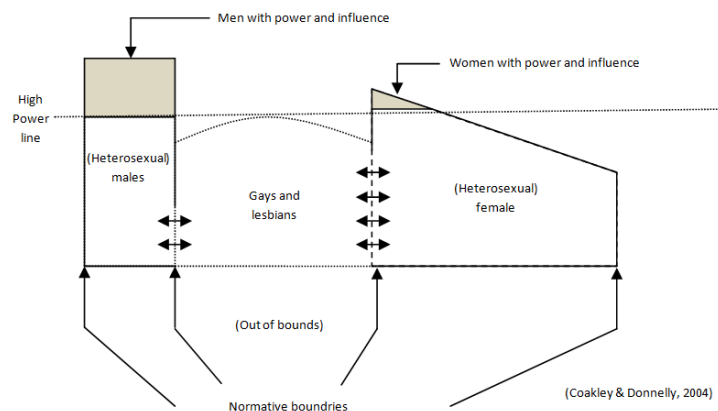


Figure 1: The two category gender classification system: a representation of gender construction in patriarchal cultures (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004, p. 238)

Sub-Question 2. Women’s sport has faced many barriers over the years. As Bryson (1987) put it, “basically women are prevented from competing, often completely, but if they are able to get a toe in, they compete on unequal terms and are unequally recognized for their achievements” (p. 350). Many women in the sport of HGHE have had to overcome such barriers when competing. Even today, there are circumstances when women are being unequally recognized for their achievements, such as unequal prize money (e.g., the prizes for a Games outside of Toronto: for the professional men, 1st place was a trophy and \$600 and for the professional women 1st place was a trophy).

The women of HGHE come from different walks of life. Some grew up in the sport scene, competing in track and field or softball. Others are new to sport and are out for the community atmosphere it brings. Sport has, “been identified as a supremely male activity and therefore eschewed [by women], both in practice and as a topic of interest” (Bryson, 1987). Women have faced barriers in the past that have prevented them from competing in HGHE. Examples of such barriers include not providing a separate category where women can compete, and not having the appropriate implement weights for a women’s competition. Female competitors have had to find the courage to stand up and demand that arrangements be made so

that they too can participate equitably in the sport of HGHE. These women have used their hopes and strengths to change and overcome barriers placed in their way, mostly by their male counterparts.

Strengths Perspective. Saleebey's (1996) article detailing the strengths perspective outlines how, "personal qualities and strengths are forged in the fires of trauma, sickness, abuse and oppression." (p. 299) Women competing in sport have been faced with a multitude of barriers. Saleebey argues that because of such barriers, strengths have been created and fostered. Within the last 10 years women in HGHE have gone through the transition from being disrespected to being appreciated by their male counterparts in sport, drawing on their strengths to do so.

A strengths perspective as laid out by Saleebey (1996) suggests that it, "honors two things: the power of the self to heal and right itself with the help of the environment and the need for an alliance with the hope that life might really be otherwise" (p 303). Women in HGHE know what this means. Over the years they have been excluded from competitions and have had to cope with and/or challenge such barriers. With the support systems they have created, these women not only addressed those barriers, but they used their strengths to excel and advance their lives.

Saleebey (2008) outlines how the strengths based perspective is a different way of looking at individuals, families and communities. He says that individuals must see themselves in a certain light that highlights their "capacities, talents, competencies, possibilities, visions, values and hopes" (Saleebey, 1996, p 297). A strengths based approach encourages individuals to look at what they already know and can do, such as composing a roster of resources. This

roster includes the individual, family and community that the athletes have known and come to trust (Saleebey, 1996).

Strengths are described as personal qualities that an individual enjoys or once enjoyed doing. These strengths then become the tools needed to build a better life. Saleebey (1996) says that cultural stories, personal stories and narratives are important sources of strength for individuals and aid in their resilience. Saleebey defines resilience as, “the continuing articulation of capacities and knowledge derived through the interplay of risks and protections in the world” (p. 299). He suggests that individuals who show resilience are able to carry on with their lives despite their difficult life experiences, pains and scares (Saleebey, 1996). Women in HGHE, from my experiences, have shown great resilience in overcoming difficult life experiences. Some of these experiences were directly correlated with sport and others were secondary to sport.

I adopted the strengths perspective by incorporating this framework into how I phrased and asked questions. I took this perspective into consideration by analysing interview transcripts in keeping with the concepts linked to a hope and strengths perspective. Saleebey (1998) noted that strengths are contextual and that strengths may be apparent in certain situations and not in others. A duality of structure approach to analysing the research was also taken, to explore the ways that strengths were both drawn upon, and shaped through interactions with others.

Duality of Structure. Giddens (1984) suggests that Duality of Structure operates to shape the social world in keeping with social construction. He states that nothing occurs naturally; everything we perceive, each action and reaction is shaped by the existing social structures already in place. Duality of Structure proposes that people shape social practices while being shaped by those practices (i.e., structures) at the same time. The model “suggests that individual

actions in sport matter.” (Paraschak, 2000). Structures that shape an individual’s actions include rules and resources that act as boundaries limiting the possibilities that individuals will consider for their actions (Giddens, 1984).

These rules are both internal and external. Ponc (1995) describes internal rules as rules that are based on a person’s assumptions and ideologies. These can be (re)constructed through the awareness of his or her social life. External rules are regulations that are documented and dictate how a person is to behave in society (Ponc, 1995). Resources can be material, personal and interpersonal⁶. Material resources are tangible and crucial for a person to function (e.g., money). Personal resources are a person’s mental or physical state, which affects his or her actions. Interpersonal resources refer to other people who can affect a person’s ability to act in his or her social life (Ponc, 1995).

An individual’s power⁷ depends on his or her ability to fit within those rules and have access to needed resources. Regardless of one’s individual power, each person has the ability to help shape the world they live within. In the end, individuals can choose to use their power to reproduce existing boundaries, which will maintain the dominant social order. Or they can choose to change those boundaries by extending or resisting them. The women of HGHE have been privileged to benefit from many structures throughout their sporting and personal careers. They ultimately help to shape the social constructions available concerning women in sport while continuously being shaped by already existing constructions of how female athletes should behave.

⁶ I later identify the three resources as i) human, ii) financial, and iii) material. Ponc (1995) describes material as tangible- I broke down material into two different categories a) financial and b) material. Personal resources are then seen as strengths of the athletes as they refer to a person’s psychological or physical state. Finally, interpersonal resources are considered to be resources where others affect you; I refer to this as a human resource.

⁷ Power is the ability to get what you want (Paraschak, 2000).

Hope Perspective. I combined and adopted two hope-based perspectives (Jacob 2005, 2008; Snyder, 2002). Snyder's (2002) Hope Theory and Jacobs' (2005, 2008) examination of "hope in" attaining a "shared future" was used in conjunction with Saleebey's (1996, 2008, 2011) Strengths Perspective. Hope is social in nature (Jacobs, 2005). Jacobs argues that hope is not purely individual, but must be understood within a social world (2005, 2008). Hope for one person can therefore also become hope for many. This hope is seen as a way to accomplish goals, overcome obstacles and provide a positive contribution towards a preferred future. Jacobs stresses that when individuals work together this will lead to a "shared future" (2005, 2008). This shared future aligns with Giddens's (1984) Duality of Structure. When two or more individuals have many interactions they potentially change the other person, while they are being changed themselves. As this duality of structure takes place, a shared preferred future can be created by the individuals.

Snyder's (2002) Hope Theory can help to further expand Giddens's (1984) Duality of Structure and Jacobs' (2005, 2008) explanation of hope. Hope Theory explains that there are three important steps that lead to high hope. These are i) goals, ii) the capability to see different routes to those goals and iii) a belief in one's ability to follow those routes to achieve the goals (Snyder, 2002). Jacobs (2008) argues that participating toward a shared future helps to cultivate hope. A person's strengths can be drawn upon to help reach desired goals. These goals should not be looked at as the "hope for" something but rather as a "hope in" a shared future (Jacobs, 2005). A hope-enhancing environment can help support individuals as they work towards their goals and along desired pathways (Paraschak, 2013). In order for individuals to develop these interpersonal connections, which foster hope, they must be available to each other, be open to understanding rather than persuasion, and be open to co-transformation (Jacobs, 2008). Giddens's

(1984) Duality of Structure extends these practices of hope by acknowledging that a person's actions, which are shaped by the conditions of one's community, in turn shape the social structures around them (Paraschak, 2013).

Sub-Question 3. Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) looked at how gender relations are socially constructed in a contemporary context and how there are many femininities and masculinities. They conclude that the idea of hegemonic masculinity is generally associated with socially elite, white, western, heterosexual males (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This group demonstrates the most socially valued form of masculinity. Coakley (1998) suggests that the binary gender classification system clarifies where the relative power lies between males and females. He proposes that most power lies with heterosexual males, with some power held by heterosexual females and little to no power held by anyone else (Coakley, 1998). He talks about how gender logic is reproduced in sport. Sports are used to convey a particular form of masculinity, thus creating a sense that women involved in sports should be seen as invaders. Within major international sport events that receive media coverage, many narratives are framed in terms of hegemonic masculinity, which reinforces dominant notions of gendered power relations (Vincent & Crossman, 2012) through media coverage.

Figure 2 showcases a conceptual drawing of the theoretical framework of Hope and Strengths, which incorporates 1) “hope for” a desired personal goal (Snyder, 2002), 2) “hope in” a preferred shared goal (Jacobs, 2005, 2008), 3) the Strengths Perspective (Saleebey, 2009) and 4) Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984). I explain how these elements work together using the example of a female HGHE athlete. In keeping with Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984), the individual athlete acts within the boundaries she can imagine, which have already been shaped by societal members, her personal history and experiences, her social determinants and various

institutional practices (e.g., family, religion, peers, education, sports). The solid black line represents the boundaries that she continuously reproduces, while the dashed line represents the boundaries that she has expanded (e.g., throwing in HE). As an individual athlete she has “hope for” a desired goal, and Snyder (2002) identifies through Hope Theory that for her to be a high hope person (able to achieve her personal goals), she needs three elements to be present: 1) she can set out a goal she wants to achieve, 2) she can outline a pathway to reach that goal, and 3) she believes she has the ability to begin and continue on that pathway to achieve her goal.

She requires resources along the way to help her achieve her goals (Giddens, 1984). Personal resources (Giddens, 1984) would include her current strengths (Saleebey, 2009). Interpersonal (human) resources (Giddens, 1984) can provide a hope enhancing environment (Paraschak, 2013) (e.g., family, support system) and she also needs to obtain material resources (Giddens, 1984) to help her along her way (e.g., financial support, throwing implements). Finally, she and her HGHE community can create a shared “hope in” a preferred future, which then becomes a dominant aspect of the boundaries within which she acts. A deficit perspective would focus on what she needs to overcome to get where she wishes to go. Instead, by framing her actions within a Hope and Strengths Perspective she was able to draw upon the strengths she already has, and the support of others providing a hope enhancing environment, in order to access needed resources and accomplish what they together imagine as their preferred future.

Figure 2: Conceptual Drawing of the Theoretical Framework of Hope and Strengths

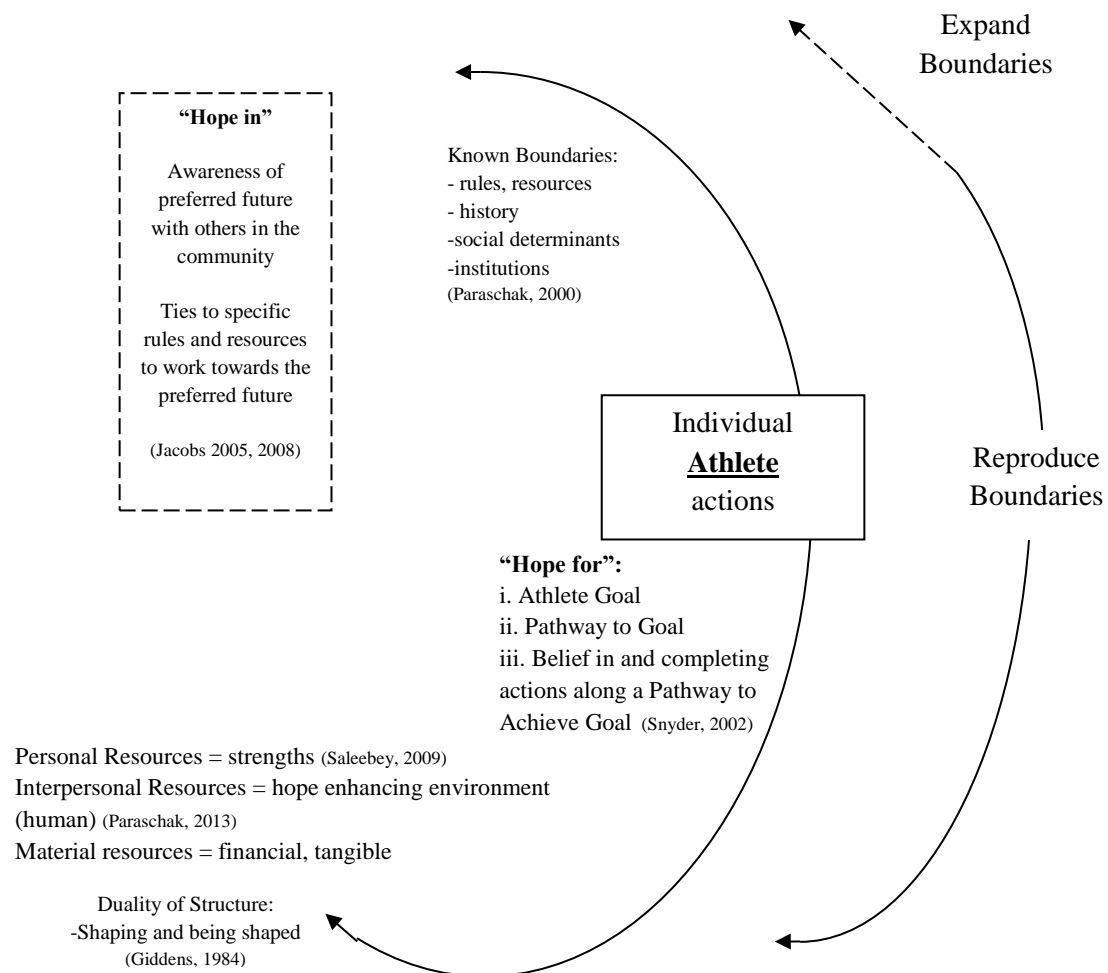


Figure 2 shows the relationships between Hope: i) hope for ii) hope in, the Strengths Perspective and Duality of Structure.

SECTION 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Sub-Question 1

What is the historical development of female athlete involvement in North American Highland Games Heavy Events?

Beginning in the late 1800s and continuing to today, “Strong Women” have been apparent in society (e.g., Todd, 2007, 2008, 2009). Various strides over the past two centuries, especially in the male dominated sports of hockey, football and bodybuilding have been made by female athletes.

There is little documentation available on the origins of women in HGHE, piping or dancing. Some of the oldest Games in North America include the Caledonian Club of San Francisco, which hosted its first Games in 1836 (Webster, 2011). Within Canada the oldest standing Games take place in Antigonish, Nova Scotia; these Games originated in 1863 (Webster, 2011). The oldest continuous Games in the province of Ontario would be the Embro Highland Games, which were held for the first time in 1937 (Webster, 2011). In North America, women are relatively new to the sport of HGHE. Canadian women have been competing in HGHE for just over 20 years. Within the United States women have been allowed to compete in their own classification for more than a decade longer.

Many Canadians love the national winter sport of ice hockey. However, it was not until recently that women’s participation was seen as legitimate. According to Wong (2009), hockey was a “...men’s game and the worship of male hockey heroes, that embodies the relationship between hockey and Canadian identity,” led males to believe that women’s hockey was inferior to men’s hockey, which they considered the ‘real’ game. The Ladies Ontario Hockey Association (LOHA), created in 1922, ceased to exist a mere 18 years later due to many reasons.

One factor was that the LOHA was unable to position women's hockey in the province as legitimate (Wong, 2009). In 1923 the LOHA took their case to the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, asking them to vote so women would be given official recognition (Wong, 2009). The result of this vote was a unanimous no, which supported the belief of many male hockey leaders at that time; hockey was no place for a woman. Even after the complete elimination of physical contact (checking) was implemented, women's hockey was still seen as 'too aggressive' a sport for women's participation (Wong, 2009). Thus, in 1940, the LOHA folded, leaving many female hockey players without a league in which to play.

Although it did not seem promising in 1940 that women's hockey would survive, eventually it did and it has become a source of national pride for both male and female Canadians. We are all well aware of the impact women's hockey has on our nation in the past two decades. Olympic gold medals (2002, 2006, 2010 & 2014) alone speak to the advancements made by women in the realm of hockey. As well, the Canadian Women's Hockey League has continued to draw players from not only Canada but also other parts of the world since 2007.

Ice hockey is not the only male dominated sport where women have had their share of struggles. Female participants in tackle football know exactly what the women fighting for hockey legitimacy experienced. In the past, women have faced controversy over being allowed to play tackle football⁸. North America had over 70 teams as of 2002 (McGlashan, 2002). Current numbers are still increasing, with the Independent Women's Football League (IWFL) expanding their league from 28 teams to 36 for the 2016 season (IWFL, 2015). One of the first women's teams in Canada was the Montreal Blitz, which was founded in 2002 (Phillips, 2002).

⁸ For an extended discussion of this history, see Krawec (2014). My account has summarized some of the history she provides.

The Blitz belonged to the IWFL, which was established in 2000 (Montreal Blitz, n.d.). The first Canadian league was created in 2004, and titled the New Brunswick Women's Football League. Once many east coast provincial teams decided to join, the league was re-titled the Maritime Women's Football League (Maritime Women's Football League, 2004). On the western side of Canada there were teams that operated without a league structure until 2010, when the Western Women's Canadian Football League was formed (WWCFL, n.d.). Similarly to hockey, women who play tackle football are viewed by male players and some media as making fun of the sport of football, a sport which is considered the 'epitome of masculine athletic performance' (Migliaccio & Berg, 2007).

Documentation of women competing in another male dominated sport, bodybuilding, dates back to its birth in 1979 (Bunsell, 2013). During initial bodybuilding competitions, women had one category, called 'bodybuilding'. Now there are many more categories that participants can enter, such as Figure, Bikini or Physique competitions (Bunsell, 2013). In these new categories, organizers and judges have decreased the muscularity requirements of competitors and have placed a higher emphasis on 'feminine presentation'. Feminine presentation as explained by Roussel, Monaghan, Javerlhac and Le Yondre (2010), became important because even though females in bodybuilding are trying to accomplish lean physical bodies, they run the risk of being stigmatized due to their muscularity.

Some spectators view this muscle as bad or ugly rather than beautiful and good (Roussel et al., 2010). Women who are 'too' muscular do not fit within the socially constructed two gender logic classification system (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004). They instead blur the lines between what is socially acceptable as "feminine" and "masculine". To counteract this blurring of gendered expectations, some female bodybuilders will dye their hair blonde, manicure their

fingernails, and wear makeup and high heel shoes to appear more feminine during competitions (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004). An example would be the Women's National Basketball League (WNBA) providing beauty classes to its athletes.

Directional Proposition. Information collected through the interviews will show that female HGHE participants have had to fight the stereotype of 'femininity' throughout their careers as athletes. Based on my participation as a HGHE athlete, I hypothesised that a high percentage of women who have participated in HGHE will have been marginalized as an athlete when talking to men who also compete in HE.

Sub-Question 2

How have female competitors shaped and been shaped by their experiences in HGHE?

Prior to the 1970s, girls were encouraged to participate in sports that emphasized grace, beauty and coordination (Coakley, 1998). Figure skating, ice dancing, gymnastics, swimming, tennis, golf and other sports were encouraged for females. Meanwhile, traits in sports such as strength, power and speed, considered "manly traits", were frowned upon for females. Added to these manly traits of the "real sports" were intimidation, violence, aggression and physical dominance (Coakley, 1998; Coakley & Donnelly, 2004). Women who expressed interest in competing in sports that reflected these manly traits, were demeaned and their bodies were sexualized and evaluated from top to bottom (Coakley, 1998). Daniels (2009) says that as the public's perception of females in athletics has grown, so too have the confines of heterosexual femininity. She suggested that the amount of articles written about working out and being healthy are outnumbered by strategically placed articles about plastic surgery, make-up and how

to dress (Daniels, 2009). Due to this shift in focus, cosmetic fitness⁹ became the activity of choice for many women. The purpose was to get strong but also to lose weight (Coakley & Donnelly 2004). Any elite athlete knows that these two things are very difficult to accomplish at the same time. This contributes to the never ending frustration of females' perceptions of their bodies. As women started to push the boundaries about what is considered feminine, they hit another road block: sex testing.

Women who have participated in elite sport over the years have had to overcome many barriers to competition. One barrier faced was that of sex testing. Sex testing was implemented after rumours of males disguising themselves as females and competing was reported during elite competitions (Elsas, et al., 2000). Although only one documented Olympic case was recorded where a man knowingly misled officials and competed as a woman in 1936, the threat was still considered real by spectators, competitors and officials (Elsas et al., 2000). According to Cole (1993), an athletic female body remains suspicious due to the apparent masculinisation of the athlete. This in turn challenges normalized feminine and masculine bodies. Over the years, there were many ways that officials sought to verify the sex of a competitor. Some of the earliest tests were coined the “naked parades”, where women would have to walk around naked in front of doctors to prove that they were indeed female. Tests such as the naked parade were conducted at the 1966 Commonwealth Games, 1967 Pan American Games and 1967 European Cup Track and Field event. These physical exams were both humiliating and degrading (Sullivan, 2011). Due to these factors the International Olympic Committee (IOC) started to look for a more scientific solution.

⁹ Cosmetic Fitness: The act of doing exercise or physical activity to achieve a body that is visually appealing based on societal standards (e.g., toned muscles for females and large muscles for male; flat stomach for females or a six-pack for males) (Siedentop & van der Mars, 2012).

The IOC opted for Buccal smears (Cole, 1993). Buccal smears consist of taking a cheek swab from a female competitor's mouth and checking that the chromosomes present were XX (Sullivan, 2011). By 1968 the IOC officially justified testing "every female Olympian to establish physical equality and prevent unfair, physical advantage" (Cole, 1993). After passing the test athletes were presented with a gender verification card or "Fem card"; athletes were expected to present this to the officials at the start of each competition (Elsas, et al., 2000). Certain genetic abnormalities were found that eliminated individuals who had XY chromosomes and were completely androgen insensitive (Elsas et al, 2000; Sullivan, 2011). Other females who had Turner's syndrome, (XO chromosomes) would fail the test because they did not have the typical XX chromosome layout (Sullivan, 2011). However, the test did not account for XX men and women with medical conditions such as testosterone producing ovarian tumors (Elsas, et al., 2000). The sex chromatin tests continued to be used in all international competitions until 1992 (Ferguson-Smith & Bavington, 2014).

At the 1992 Olympics, DNA tests were used instead of chromatin tests (Ferguson-Smith & Bavington, 2014). The International Association of Athletic Federations (IAAF)¹⁰ decided that, "concurrent requirements to produce urine under direct visualization for drug testing would seem to render formal gender verification testing moot" (Simpson, Ljungqvist, de la Chapelle, Ferguson-Smith, Genel, Carlson & Ferris, 1993, p. 313). During the summer of 1999, the IOC "conditionally rescinded its 30-year requirement for onsite gender screening of all women" starting at the 2000 Olympic Games (Elsas et al., 2000, p. 254). Although sex testing methods have changed dramatically due to new technology, tests are still conducted on those athletes who are 'under suspicion' and do not fit the stereotypical standard for what is hypothesised to be "female". Two recent examples are Caster Semenya and Dutee Chand. Semenya was banned

¹⁰ International governing body for track and field (athletics).

from the sport of track and field for an entire year before being reinstated without a clear explanation (Schaffer, 2012). Chand, a sprinter from India, has once again raised some issues around sex testing in the international track and field world. She was suspected of doping but was found to be hyperandrogenic¹¹; she was in turn banned for the 2014 season. Chand appealed the ruling set out by the IAAF. In 2015 at the Court of Arbitration for Sport, the ruling was put forward that making women change their bodies in order to compete was unjustifiably discriminatory (Padawer , 2016). The panel suspended the IAAF policy until July of 2017, giving them time to begin a two year study to see if females who are hyperandrogenic truly do have an advantage over women who produce “normal” amounts of testosterone (Branch, 2015). Chand was reinstated following the appeal. Both Chand and Semenya competed during the 2016 Olympics in Rio.

To avoid suspicion, some women overemphasize their femininity by applying makeup, doing their hair or wearing wedding/engagement rings while competing (Bell, 2008; Coakley, 1998). Athletes who overtly demonstrate that they follow heterosexual gender roles of being a wife, girlfriend or mom, are privileged above those who do not (Bruce, 2012). If an athlete demonstrates such gender norms, societal members are more likely to accept her than those who blur the lines between what is socially acceptable as feminine versus masculine behaviour.

Directional Proposition. I believe that women in HGHE have helped to shape and have been shaped by their experiences competing in HE. Information collected from the interviews will show that women have support systems in their lives. These support systems helped these athletes overcome barriers they have encountered and have helped them to maintain their choices over the years. Interview information will point out that women in HGHE have come to know

¹¹ Hyperandrogenic means that women have an increased amount of androgens in their system.

and love the sport they participate in, even though they have faced many barriers in their lives, including challenges to their femininity.

Sub-Question 3

How does newspaper coverage of women in HGHE compare to their male counterparts (HE participants) and other female participants (dancing and piping)?

Highland Games. The traditions of the Highland Games were largely passed on by word of mouth through generations rather than written down (Jarvie, 1986). These “Games”, as referred to by Webster (2011), must include some type of physical sporting competition (e.g., heavy events, foot race, tug of war etc.) to be labelled a “Games”. Other events are simply referred to as “gatherings”, where clans come together for a social occasion. During these gatherings, there “would invariably be piping and often dancing” (Webster, 2011, pp 15). If it took place outside there would most likely be informal sporting contests, which would then result in labelling the event as a “Games”.

The Highland Games have evolved from a number of traditions that date back to the mid-1700s (Jarvie, 1986; Webster, 2011). According to Webster (2011) there are many old books telling of the Braes of Mar, now known as Braemar. Competitors ranged in sex, age, size and skill level for all events hosted at the Games. Some of the events that take place during the “modern Games” are piping, dancing, foot races and heavy events.

Women in Heavy Events. Female participants in HGHE are relatively new. Traditionalists in Scotland and in other parts of Europe still do not include women’s divisions in their Games (Webster, 2011). In the USA women’s HGHE are much more common. Shannon Hartnett started her Heavy Events career in the 1980s by competing with the men at Santa Rosa in California (Webster, 2011). When women began competing, there was plenty of feedback from both fields

of competitors. The women were concerned that they were not receiving adequate attention and publicity as well as not able to showcase their athletic prowess in the center of the field. Instead they were placed in the corner of the fields. The men insinuated that the women did not train as hard and as regularly, so they should keep their opinions to themselves (Webster, 2011). This argument is still relevant during some Games, which have more than one field. The “main field” usually has the most seating and viewing points while the “side field” is tucked back away from wandering eyes.

The most recognized women in American HGHE thus far are Hartnett (as mentioned earlier) and Cindy Morrison. Thanks to these women, HGHE are now popular for women all over the USA and Canada. Hartnett was virtually unbeaten in the heavy events. She set and broke every American and World record during her reign as a competitor. She retired from the sport in 2006 (Webster, 2011).

Trail blazer Jackie Denny (Canadian) started competing in HGHE long before they were offered in Canada. Her first Games took place in the early 1990’s in the United States. She then encouraged the Fergus Games to host a women’s division. Only three women competed in this event in 1995; Denny, Hartnett and another woman who only competed in that one Games (J. Denny, personal communication, October 20, 2015). Jackie has helped to get the Canadian Women’s HGHE movement in motion. She is still an active competitor within the Canadian HGHE circuit and a strong role model for many aspiring female athletes.

Canadian legend, Josee Morneau, has competed worldwide in HGHE. She has won numerous Canadian Open Championships and has competed at both the North American and World Highland Game Championships. Morneau has established herself as one of the most decorated female HGHE athletes in Canada. Currently living in the prairies, Josee still competes

in many Games in the southern United States, Winnipeg and Ontario (J. Morneau, personal communication, August 9, 2015).

Men in Heavy Events. Many men over the years have landed themselves in the elite class of HGHE athletes. Some insiders call these athletes “heavies”. Donald Dinnie (Scottish) and Bill Anderson (Scottish) are two of the best known and most respected HGHE athletes of all time (Webster, 2011). They both set the standard for HEs by traveling the world to compete against other countries’ best athletes. In the late 1970s, Anderson won almost every major HGHE title including five US Open Championships (1976-1980), the Canadian Open Championship (1977), many World and World Caber Championships and 18 Scottish Championships (1959-1987) (Webster, 2011). The Scottish born Anderson was inducted into the Scottish Sports Hall of Fame, joining his companion Dinnie in 2007 (Webster, 2011). As of 2011 they are the only two Heavy Event athletes to be inducted (Webster, 2011).

In Canada some of the most prolific HGHE athletes are Greg Hadley, Scott Rider, Harry MacDonald, Jason Johnston and more recently Matt Doherty. These athletes have won numerous Canadian Championships and set lots of records over the years. Many of them have been asked to compete at the North American Championships as well as at the World Heavy Event Championships (Webster, 2011).

Piping. “Pipe bands and hereditary pipers have long played an important part in ceremonies and celebrations of all kinds, not just in Scotland but overseas” (Webster, 2011, p. 25). Bagpipes and pipers have been around since the 6th century (Webster, 2011). Pipers are judged in individual competitions and as a collective band. Pipers can be female or male. Many championships have been recorded over the years. For example, Simon Fraser University in Canada has won multiple world championships (1987, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2001, 2009) and was the only band, outside of

the UK, to win back to back World championships (SFUPB, 2015). Piping is another form of competition at almost all Games. The sound of pipes can be heard throughout the grounds on which the Games are being contested. Personally, it is one of the most refreshing sounds an athlete can hear while at the competition.

Dancing. There are two types of Scottish dancing: Highland dancing as seen at Games and gatherings, and Scottish Country dancing, which is a social type of dancing (Webster, 2011). Although it is unclear how certain dances emerged throughout history, many are still being danced today. The Highland Fling, the Sword Dance, Seann Triubhas, Strathspey, Highland Reel, Basic Reel Steps, Reel of Tulloch or “Hullachan” and the Laddie are the basic eight dances performed during competition (A. Schimanski, personal communication, October 12, 2015). Highland dancing was originally a men’s only activity until attitudes changed, presumably due to all the new roles women were acquiring during the First World War (Webster, 2011). By 1984 at the World Highland dancing championships, women held “more than their own with their male counterparts” (Webster, 2011, p. 147). Today, the majority of dancers are female with males still competing, in fewer numbers. This could be due to the way dancing aligns with mainstream societal constructions of women as graceful, coordinated and balanced.

Newspaper Coverage. In the early twentieth century newspapers covered a small amount of sports. This resulted in the creation of a sports page. As time progressed, newspapers created entire sport sections (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004). Articles in these papers range from local team updates to university/college play and professional sports. While flipping through a local newspaper, it is evident that the majority of coverage, both in pictures and text, is about men’s sport. For example, in a study done by Toft (2011), he found through looking at newspapers from over 22 countries, including Canada, that the amount of articles that focused on

sportswomen was only 9%. When women's sport is covered, it often highlights their sex appeal and femininity instead of athletic accomplishments (Bissell & Duke, 2007; Kim, Walkosz, & Iverson, 2006).

Certain women's sports, such as figure skating, tennis and golf, approach equitable coverage with men's sports (Coakley, 2009). These sports are the ones that fit within the socially constructed female athlete category, which emphasises grace, balance and coordination. Such sports support the "gender logic" that women's participation in sport is intended to promote athletes as heterosexual females. On the other hand, male sport coverage tends to focus on their athleticism and masculine traits. Elite male athletes tend to be framed as active agents who are responsible for their own athletic agency (Vincent & Crossman, 2012). Male athletes are generally described in empowering terms. The media talks about the male athlete's personal strengths and successes, confidence, physical strength, and power (Vincent & Crossman, 2009).

Sport media has been and continues to be dominated by males (Messner & Cooky, 2010). Some research has focused on major patterns that have occurred in the media, such as gender marking and infantilization (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). *Gender marking* is when only a women's event title is preceded by "female" or "women's". For example, the World Cup label is used for the "Men's" World Cup whereas the Women's World Cup label is gender marked with "women". *Infantilization* hypothesises that women in male dominated sports are seen as a threat. To make these women non-threatening, media journalists have used the term "girls" and focused on non-sport related aspects such as a comparison to male athletes, mention of family and/or friends and physical appearance (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Other research has focused on *compulsory heterosexuality*, which is the belief that if women showcase their heterosexual roles they receive more coverage (Wright & Clarke, 1999). Another media pattern is *sexualisation*, in

which women are idealized and showcased in terms of their sexual attractiveness and thereby framed with the assumption of a male gaze (Markula, 2009). *Appropriate femininity* is another way media portray women, which highlights their emotional and physical characteristics. This strategy marks women and men differently in ways such as size and build (Bruce, 2012). Finally, another media practice is that of *ambivalence*, which is evident when accounts about female sports are undermined by trivializing them (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

When it comes to events such as the world championships for soccer or the Olympics for hockey, Canadian men's and women's teams receive equitable coverage from the media (Vincent & Crossman, 2012). Research also suggests that when national identity is related to the sport being discussed, the coverage seems to be based more on athletic accomplishments for the female athletes rather than on gender differences (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

Directional Proposition. Based on my personal experiences with the media in relation to Highland Games Heavy Events, I believe that women in HGHE are marginalized by their male counterparts and by the media. Webster (2011) dedicated many chapters to HE athletes. Amongst those chapters, there is only one on female athletes, which lasts only four pages. The HGHE section (p. 175-230) begins by outlining all of the events and historical athletes throughout the years. There is no mention of female competitors in HEs until the women's chapter titled "The Games' Golden Girls" (p. 231-234). Based on my preliminary search of newspaper articles, it appears that women's and men's media coverage focuses on the overall outcome of the games along with reproducing a socially constructed view that HGHE is a manly sport. I expect that coverage of female HGHE athletes, as compared to male HGHE athletes will put a greater emphasis on physical appearance, rather than skill and technique. For example,

Webster's (2011) book states that the founder of women's HEs is an "athletically built, sun-tanned Californian girl" and that she "train[s] just as hard as many men would" (p. 232).

SECTION 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data Collection and Analysis

This research was an exploratory descriptive qualitative study. Sub-question 1 and sub-question 2 were interview-based. I used an interview method from the margins¹² (Kirby & McKenna, 1989); this technique was used to explore the historical development of female athletes' involvement in North American HGHE (sub-1) and how female competitors shape and have been shaped by their experiences in HGHE (sub-2). I interviewed female and male Athletic Directors and female athletes in North America. Interviews took place during most competitors' off season (January-March). Documenting the experiences of both current athletes and ADs has given me a wide range of information from which to draw conclusions.

For sub-question 3, I conducted a newspaper article review entailing both a textual and content analysis on the various newspaper articles available from 1994 through 2015. I searched for articles using ProQuest Canadian Newsstand Complete using search terms, "Heavy Events" & "Female*", "Heavy Events" & "Women*", "Heavy Events" & "Male", "Heavy Events" & "Men", "Bagpipe competition" & "Women", "Pipers" & "Highland Games" & Women", "Highland Dancing" & "Women", and "Highland Danc* Competition" & "Women". I examined how the newspaper coverage, in Canada, of women in HGHE compared to coverage for male HGHE and other female participants (dancing and piping). The content analysis yielded quantitative information on the articles that were found in relation to the Highland Games, specifically for women and men in HE and women in piping and dancing. The textual analysis reviewed the articles recovered from the content analysis; I conducted a thorough search of the

¹²"The margin is the context in which those who suffer injustice, inequity and exploitation live their lives. Focussing on the world from the margins allows us to see the world differently and, in many ways, more authentically." (Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 33).

content the articles contained, in relation to certain research-based patterns in female coverage. This analysis generated both quantitative and qualitative data, which has provided an accurate representation of the messages being portrayed through newspaper articles (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

Pilot Interviews. Pilot interviews were conducted with three appropriate interviewees. All interviewees agreed to participate in the pilot interview process. All are still extremely active in the HGHE community.

My first pilot interview was my self-interview. Based on Kirby and McKenna's (1989) interviewing process, they suggest "that researchers must experience the interview as both an interviewer and a research participant" (p. 72). Therefore, I also participated in the interview process. I have been an active competitor in HGHE and plan to continue competing for a long time. My interview helped prepare me to contribute to the many perspectives that will be collected during the interview process and added to the conversation about women's involvement in HGHEs as I drew upon my experiences in the discussion. I completed my interview before all of the others were carried out. My interview was conducted over a two-hour period where I typed my answers into a Word Document. My answers were not directly used in the results section.

The second pilot interview was with a male Athletic Director (AD) who hosts women's competitions. He has been involved in highland Games for over 15 years. He started competing as an athlete and has since switched his focus to the administrative side of sport, as an Athletic Director. He still competes in a few Games a year but thrives on running his own Highland Games. His Games are becoming better known and he is slowly getting a larger group of

competitors participating. With his experience as an athlete and as an AD, he was a great fit for my pilot interview.

My third pilot interview was conducted with a former elite female HGHE athlete. She was among the first female competitors in Canada. Her expertise in the events is extremely valuable for current athletes. She still competes in many Games throughout the season. She is still (as of December 2015) ranked in the top 20 in Canada for the 2016 season. This placed her outside of the requirements for an official interview. Her experiences as an athlete were valuable for my pilot interview. She was able to help me refine and modify my interview guide appropriately. Information gathered in pilot interviews was not included in the results or discussion section of the analysis.

Participant Selection. My participants included female HGHE athletes (8) and both female (2) and male (2) Athletic Directors (ADs).

My participant requirements included female athletes (8); there was an even number of Canadian (4) and American (4) athletes. Interviews were also conducted with ADs (4) for the main Games in each country; Canada (2) provided one female and one male AD and the United States (2) also provided one female and one male AD.

After REB approval, I contacted the North American Scottish Games Association (NASGA) website coordinator and obtained consent to post (information) on the NASGA forum advertizing my study. At the same time, I contacted the Canadian Scottish Athletic Federation (CSAF) website coordinator and obtained contact information for the Canadian Participants and ADs. Once I got this contact information, an initial email was sent to each athlete and athletic director that fit the selection criteria listed on the following page. This email requested their

involvement in the study (See Appendices B and C). After the emails had been sent out, I selected the first four applicants from Canada and the first four from the USA who responded. I sent out 4 emails to the selected ADs, three of whom responded in the affirmative. A replacement email was sent to another AD, who responded by agreeing to participate.

Oakley (1981), as cited in Kirby & McKenna (1989) says that the interview is a guided conversation where both participants (interviewer and interviewee) share valuable information and contribute to the research process. Qualitative studies do not have a set number of participants required to make them trustworthy; however, Markula and Silk (2011) suggest that a total of 10 participants may be appropriate for a master's thesis. I completed twelve interviews in total, as well as providing my own responses to prepare for the interview process¹³. Of those interviews, eight were conducted with current female athletes and four were conducted with two male and two female ADs of HGHE competitions. This spread of participants allowed me to gather unique information and perspectives that occur for athletes and organizers involved with women's HGHEs (Creswell, 2009).

Eligible athlete participants were selected based upon their rankings on the CSAF and NASGA websites, as well as their history of involvement in the sport. Participants had to be ranked in the top 10 on CSAF and/or NASGA sites as well as have competed in the sport for over two years. Two years of experience was considered a sufficient time for athletes to develop a clear understanding of what the HGHE culture entails.

¹³ My responses were for my preparation only; I did not include them in my results section.

Athletic Directors (ADs) were selected based on their involvement in the major Games that are hosted in North America. The ADs had a different perspective about female participants in HGHEs based on their insider knowledge of what it takes to host and run a successful Games.

Kirby & McKenna (1989) suggest that accounting for your own perspective as you research is essential. They say that participants are likely to accept or reject an invitation to participate based on the researcher's identity and approach. It was important that the participants in this study knew who I was and what my full intentions were going forward into the interview phase. I stressed that open communication was key during the first few encounters with potential participants, which I believe eased them toward a productive interview process. Another point made by Kirby & McKenna (1989) is that the interview dynamic constantly changes throughout the interview. It was important for me to remember that during the interview process, it was a learning experience for both parties and that the interview is just one part of the research, which is always continuing (Kirby & McKenna, 1989).

Sub-Question 1& 2. First, I laid out my 'conceptual baggage', which included thoughts and ideas about the research questions I had at the beginning of this study (See Appendix F) (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). After committee approval of my draft interview guide (See Appendices G & H), I applied to the University of Windsor's Research Ethics Board and gained approval for collecting interview information from my participants. Once approval was received, I did three pilot interviews to test out my interview guide, revised it as needed, and then contacted my potential interview participants. When I interviewed myself, it was not audio recorded. I conducted my self-interview before all other interviews. I wrote down my answers and it took about 2 hours to complete my self-interview. This allowed me to have enough time to thoroughly

think through each answer based on my experiences as a female HGHE athlete. Once my self-interview was complete I did not add to or alter my information in any way, shape or form.

Interviews are an essential part of qualitative research. I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews with female HGHE competitors (n=8), and female/male ADs (n=2/2). To further break those down, of the female HGHE competitors, four were from the USA and four were from Canada. As for the ADs, two were from the USA and two were from Canada. There was one male and one female AD from each country. I collected the information needed to contact participants through a mutual party (i.e., NASGA website forum and the CSAF website supervisor) who had the appropriate information (email addresses) that I needed for direct contact.

Once I received these email addresses, or a response via the NASGA forum, a personalized email (See Appendix B) with a letter of information (See Appendix C) was sent to each potential participant. In this email, participants were asked to respond within two weeks. Positive responses led to sorting out a date and time for the interview that was mutually agreeable. Another email was sent that had a consent form and consent for audio taping form attached (See Appendices D & E). A statement of consent through email was accepted instead of a signed copy of the consent form. The majority of contact with participants was done via email. Once a date and time had been set up, each participant received an outline of the questions being asked during the interview (See Appendix G for athlete questions and Appendix H for AD questions).

Participants were given sufficient time (one week) to construct their answers as they deemed fit. “This allow[s] participants to think about the topic and about being interviewed

before the event.” (Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p.116). Participants had their interviews completed over the phone. Interviews were conducted using the telephone in the interview room in the HK building at the University of Windsor. All the phone interviews were recorded using the Algo Client Call Recorder V2.2. Participants who took part in the phone interview process were encouraged to find a private location during the interview process. Once the interview had been completed, the audio recording was secured on my personal password protected laptop and subsequent files were deleted from the computer.

I kept my conceptual baggage and what I had thought of along the way in mind, so that I did not let it affect my line of questions (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). I chose a semi-structured interview so the interview process would feel like more of a conversation rather than an interrogation. Participants were asked a series of open ended questions, which were included to encourage free flow and abstract thinking. Questions were based on my first two sub-questions. Questions were informed by some of Saleebey’s (2008) strength based questions (See Appendix I). Finally, some questions were hope-based. A focus on Hope, which is social in nature, helped to probe the social relationships the participants have (Jacobs, 2005). The interviews were semi-structured, allowing for free flow thinking to occur throughout. I allowed each interviewee to select a pseudonym of their choice, although none did. I then searched for Scottish baby names and used those as their pseudonyms in my discussion of their answers in the results section.

Sub-Question 3. Newspaper articles were collected using ProQuest Canadian Newsstand Complete, as this is the best software for searching major newspapers across Canada. The search terms previously listed were used. The heavy event category was separated into two sexes, female and male. This allowed for article sizes, authors, dates, newspaper city and province, headlines, number of photographs, photograph captions, number of words related to HGHE,

article focus and tone of article to be assessed. I conducted two types of analysis on the newspaper articles: textual analysis and content analysis.

Textual Analysis. As communication through text has increased, textual analysis has become an increasingly popular form of analysis (Markula & Silk, 2011). My textual analysis was related to newspaper articles. I gathered information about how the reporters have chosen to make sense of female Highland Games competitors. I coded terms that tie directly to research patterns of female coverage (See Appendix J for definitions, Appendix K for key terms of patterns, Appendix L for analysis codes).

There were six patterns of female coverage that I looked at during the textual analysis. Gender marking was established by looking through the article to see if the journalist referred to both events as men's and women's or just the "women's" events, thus naturalizing HGHE as "male" unless otherwise noted. Infantilization was looked at through the use of words such as "girls", "young ladies", continuously using first names of competitors instead of last names and topics related to family or physical appearance. Compulsory heterosexuality was seen as occurring when reporters referred to competitors as a "mother", "wife", or "girlfriend" of a male. Sexualisation was recorded when descriptors commented on her "womanly figure", or certain physical "female" attributes such as, breasts, buttocks, face and/or hair. Appropriate femininity was recorded when reporters commented on how "small", "weak", "beautiful", "graceful", "emotionally unstable" and/or "dependant" the women were who were competing. Finally, ambivalence was assessed by looking at the tone of the article or sentence structure. Ambivalence was deemed to have occurred when a positive descriptor about the female athletes was followed by a negative or undermining descriptor or when athletic accomplishments of the female athlete are framed within male performance terms. The key words for each pattern of

female coverage were coded (See examples Appendix L). I looked at the frequency and similarities of the terms used throughout the newspaper articles generated by the ProQuest Canadian Newsstand Complete review.

Content Analysis. A content analysis is done to provide an accurate representation of the messages being provided (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). The goal of this analysis was to measure the amount and type of media coverage of women and men in HGHE, and of female pipers and dancers. My searches were conducted on Canadian Newsstand using my previously listed search terms. I copied and pasted the information from each article into an Excel file: the date, writer, newspaper name and location, newspaper section, headline, number of words in the article and number of photographs and photograph caption(s). This information was coded based on the focus of the article (See Appendices M & N). When there was no author listed for an article it was coded as “N/A” for the writer and if the author was listed as “Anonymous” it was coded as “Anonymous”. The search results did not include photographs but they did include a caption describing the photograph that was published. This caption was documented when applicable. When there was a duplicate search, (same article in the same newspaper on the same day), only the first result was included. When the results yielded the same article in a different newspaper, only one copy of the article was included. When the headlines were different from the articles, I included the headline.

I determined the focus of the article by counting how many words are related to the main topic. I did this by using Microsoft Word and highlighting the text that is related to the main topic, which gave me a word count to determine how many words are about the topic. Articles were coded using two different codes: “main focus” and “sole focus”. Sole focus refers to the entire article (100%) being dedicated to one topic. Main focus refers to the article having

multiple foci but over 50% of the article was on one topic. Each event got its own coding: Heavy Events Main Focus (HEMF), Piping Main Focus (PMF), Dancing Main Focus (DMF), Heavy Events Sole Focus (HESF), Piping Sole Focus (PSF), Dancing Sole Focus (DSF). Finally, I used the code Mixed Focus (MF), when the article contained a mixed amount of information about two or more topics and each topic's word count did not exceed 50% of the total word count for the article (See Appendix L for content coding).

The overall tone of the article related to women only, and was coded as Positive (Pos), Negative (Neg) or Mixed (Mix). A positive article highlighted the athletes and lacked criticism about them. A negative article was extremely critical about the athletes, which included sarcastic comments or jokes. A mixed article included both positive and negative comments.

I coded the writer as male or female based on my assessment of their names in keeping with a traditional scale: male (e.g., Mark) and female (e.g., Emily). When the name was ambiguous (e.g., Sam) I attempted to determine the writer's gender by going online to see if there was a picture of him/her posted on the webpage of the newspaper for which they work(ed). When gender was not identified based on the author's name, article content, or the journalist's photo from the newspaper's website, I coded the individual as "ambiguous". In some cases the writer's name was listed as "Anonymous"; I coded the writer as "unknown".

Data Analysis

Interviews. I used the guidelines suggested by Kirby & McKenna (1989) to analyze my data. I first looked at the content I had collected and made sure that it was organized in a meaningful way. I then listened to the audio recordings of my interviews and transcribed them verbatim into a Word document. Once I had completed all of the transcriptions I uploaded the Word document

to NVivo 10¹⁴. From this I generated some initial codes. These codes helped me determine how my sub-questions formed meaningful concepts (i.e., How have female competitors shaped and been shaped by their experiences). Once I had established common themes I gathered all relevant information for those themes and grouped them together. Throughout the process I was continuously refining my themes to end up with clear definitions. Upon completion I selected the best examples to include in my results (See Appendix O).

I focused the results of my qualitative research on trustworthiness rather than reliability and validity. According to Lincoln & Guba's (1985) Evaluative Criteria, four steps needed to be met: Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Conformability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) closely correlate to Kirby & McKenna's (1989) views on data analysis.

Credibility. Credibility suggests that there needs to be confidence in the "truth" of the findings. This is done with member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For research to be valid "we must be able to say that what we describe is recognized by the research participants" (Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 36). Creswell (2009) recommends member checking with participants to make sure that they feel as though the findings are accurate. I emailed each participant a summary transcript of his or her interview and asked for their feedback. I gave them a week to respond due to the time constraints of data collection, analysis and write up. If they did not respond within the week I hypothesised that they agreed with my transcription of their interview. During the interviews, if I felt unclear about something an interviewee had said, I asked for clarification of the response.

¹⁴ NVivo was used for the interview transcripts, however I did not find its groupings to be really getting at the key themes. I opted for laying all of the transcripts out and continuing to code by hand to produce the common themes.

Transferability. Transferability is achieved when you show the findings have applicability in other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This is done through thick description. With this comes reliability, which is “the trust and confidence we have when speaking about the description and analysis of our data” (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). It was important to have clearly defined codes that I could continuously compare back to during the coding process, which ensured that the codes were applied consistently (Creswell, 2009). Codes are developed to represent the code category in a simplified way and the longer a researcher becomes familiar with the codes the clearer (s)he becomes (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). Having a clear list of codes (See Appendix N) available made coding the information much easier. A second code list was kept during the analysis process; any new codes that appeared were labeled in hopes that they would help to refine the original list of codes (See Appendix O for updated code list). These codes can be used in the future for other researchers.

Dependability. To acquire dependability you must show that the findings are consistent and could be repeated (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This is done by using an external audit. An external audit suggests that the information be looked at by an outsider to help promote trustworthiness of the process and findings. My information was looked at by my advisor on a regular basis. Her insights helped me see and recognize patterns that had been overlooked as well as confirm consistency throughout.

Confirmability. Confirmability is achieved by the degree to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not by the researcher’s own bias, motivations or interests (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This is accomplished through reflexivity, which suggests that the researcher should keep a type of journal documenting the decisions they make throughout the research process. As I was the research tool being used to conduct the interviews, I reflected on my own

history, social determinants and how they have shaped my interpretations before I started my analysis. To help clarify my bias as a researcher, information such as my insights about HGHE were included in my conceptual baggage (See Appendix F). Creswell (2009) says that using thick, rich descriptions to express the results aids in the overall flow of the analysis. I did this by including interview quotes throughout my results to enhance my points. Information in the descriptions were then tied back to my literature review and theoretical framework of the hope and strengths perspective.

Delimitations and Limitations

Sub-Question 1¹⁵

1. a) I looked specifically at North American elite women and their history of competing in HGHE.
b) The amount of information available due to my narrow exploration of their history and experiences in HGHE, limited the extent of the history of these HGHE I provided.
2. a) The interviews were conducted with 8 women athletes and 4 ADs who have participated in HGHE in North America.
b) Restricting who was contacted and interviewed resulted in the scope of the study being specific to these North American HGHE participants. The information collected cannot be generalized to all individuals who have participated in the sport. Selecting the first individuals willing to be interviewed may have led to a bias in the responses they provided that aligned with individuals who are positively engaged in HGHE.

¹⁵ Saturation was not achieved.

3. a) I conducted the interviews predominantly with individuals with whom I already had an existing relationship, due to my insider experience within HGHE as a competitor.
b) The answers by interviewees were thus shaped by our pre-existing relationship. This could have jeopardised the accuracy of the information being collected. Interviewees might have felt more comfortable with me and thus provided more information than they would with an outsider to the sport, or they may not have wished to divulge select information because of our relationship.

Sub-Question 2

1. a) I looked at eight women in North America and how they have experienced HGHE.
b) These results do not have a wide scope but rather delve into the experiences of a limited number of elite athletes from the United States (4) and Canada (4). I did not reach saturation and thus was not able to make general assumptions about all women who compete in HGHE.
2. a) I have a pre-existing relationship (as an athlete) with many of the participants I interviewed.
b) This is beneficial as I already know the language of the sport and have insider knowledge. This could have caused participants to share more information than they would if they did not know the researcher or to withhold information they might have shared with an individual they did not know.
3. a) The ADs that were interviewed are all highly professional individuals whose experiences will be different than those of elite athlete participants.

- b) These different experiences are most likely due to their in depth understanding about hosting a Games. Many ADs once competed as athletes and some still compete. This might change their perspectives on certain topics.
- 4. a) Participants' names were not used in this study. Pseudonyms were used during the results write up.
b) Participants still may be identifiable but I tried to remove all identify markers thus reducing the chances of that happening. By removing these identifying markers I removed some information that could have been considered valuable, such as the variety of jobs being done by the athletes.
- 5. a) The interviews were collected over the phone. Traveling to see the participants face to face was not an option due to funding and time constraints of this study.
b) This could have taken away from my analysis of the answers received based on the absence of direct human interaction and its accompanying body language. During a face-to-face conversation one would be able to pick up on physical cues and body language, while over the phone you cannot do this to the same degree.

Sub-Question 3

- 1. a) I started my newspaper search during the year 1995 as it was the first year that women began competing in HGHE in Canada. I looked at articles specifically printed in Canadian newspapers on Canadian events.
b) This narrowed the scope of my media analysis to a Canadian field of study, which did not allow for North American generalizations to take place.
- 2. a) Articles were collected from ProQuest Canadian Newsstand Complete as it is the best and most complete software for searching newspapers across Canada.

b) This search engine does not have all the articles that have been printed over the last 20 years that correlate to Highland Games, which limited the scope of the study. Some smaller local papers do not have the resources to document their articles similarly to larger newspapers, thus shrinking the breadth of the scope of those newspapers being reviewed.

SECTION 4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sub-Question 1

To explore the involvement of female athletes in HGHE, I chose to interview Athletic Directors who have been responsible for hosting women's HE competitions. The role of the AD is to facilitate and run a competition; their job includes many tasks such as contacting athletes, providing t-shirts, setting up the equipment needed for the competition along with providing the implements being thrown and recruiting judges and volunteers to help make the competition run smoothly.

Four Athletic Directors of women's HGHE were interviewed whose residences spanned from Central Canada to the Southern and Western United States. The ADs have been hosting HE competitions for a total of over 60 years. Half of the ADs were female and the other half were male. Half were from the United States and the other half were from Canada. The athletic directors' ages ranged from the late 40s to the 70s. Their ethnicities were identified as Aboriginal, North American, and European. The ADs' education varied from a high school diploma to a master's degree; their professions included an assortment of different jobs, both in the office and doing manual labour. Three of the ADs help to run both a women's and men's HE competition, while one is only involved in the organization of the women's competition. Interviews ranged from 20 to 49 minutes, with an average interview time of about 36 minutes. Questions used during the interview can be found in Appendix H.

Themes. The following 5 themes about the history of women's involvement in HGHE are described in this chapter: 1) start of women's divisions, 2) the first memory of a female HGHE athlete, 3) the ideal athlete, 4) prize money and 5) media coverage of female athletes. These

themes emerged through analysis of interview transcripts with HGHE athletic directors from Canada and the United States.

Start of Women's Divisions. Men's HGHE divisions, in North America, were started in the late 1800s, while women's divisions have only been around for the past 26 years. According to these ADs, their specific women's divisions started at various times over the past three decades. The dates listed below are useful in showcasing the progress of participation for female HGHE athletes in North America. Ferguson¹⁶ recalls how the first women's division was started in 1989 at his Games:

You know when we started the women's class [...] I was surprised, I think we got about six women to compete.

When Vanora took over her Games in 2007 there was already a women's division in place. She said that there has been one since the late 1990s. Heading into the twenty-first century, Peyton said that the first women's division he hosted was in 2000:

[...] we decided to put it in there because there was a demand for it. There were different women that were interested and looking for a place to compete.

According to Rhonda, when she took over the Games in 2009 there was already a women's division but it had been started in the mid 2000s. Peyton explained that the first time his other Games hosted a women's division was in 2007:

¹⁶ Pseudonyms have been used to keep the identity of the Athletic Directors anonymous.

[The Games committee] wanted to add something to the show that was going on and actually one of the people on the committee had suggested that we bring women in as well. I think the demand was there, so we brought them in.

Finally, Ferguson mentioned that there is now even a women's masters class (40 and over), and a women's elite class:

Well the women's class started in '89 and then we split them into A and B and then in '04 I did the masters women and then in 2011 I started the elite women. I'm always surprised on the response that I get from the women. [...] if you're not ranked in the top 5 or the top Canadian women you're not going to get in. Whereas a guy in the men's group he could be ranked 20th and still have a chance to get in.

Ferguson admits this is because he takes 12 competitors for the men's division and only 6 for the women's division.

The fact that women's competitions have been on the rise over the past 30 years is one strength of the women's HGHE. Change doesn't always happen overnight but having some of the oldest Games in North America finally host a women's division is a step in the right direction. Using the financial and human resources available to them, ADs have been able to create and increase the number of women's divisions being offered. Increasing the number of opportunities enhances the number of chances women have to showcase their talents to a wide range of spectators. This has created a "preferred future" for the HGHE community. These opportunities help individual athletes feel as though they are a valued member of the HGHE community, and that they are doing something that not only benefits them on a personal and physical level but at a community level by promoting women's sport.

First Memory of Female HGHE Competitor. Female role models come in all shapes and sizes. I explored the ways that particular female competitors had made an initial impression on the ADs in this study. These female competitors are some of the trail blazers for many HE athletes. I wanted to see what type of impact they had on the HGHE administrators. The identifying of these women assists in understanding when these ADs were first exposed to a female athlete competing in HGHE.

All of the ADs have been involved in HGHE for numerous years. The majority of them started out as athletes and eventually made their way to an administrative role as an AD. The ADs were asked to recall their first memory of a female HGHE athlete.

Gillian Daughton, 2001. Rhonda recalls her first experience witnessing a female HGHE athlete:

Um, the first memory I have was watching, I think it was Gillian Daughton competing,[...] watching her do the same things as the guys were doing and I was totally blown away by the fact that she was doing it.

She said that when she first started watching there were only two women throwing at that time. She admits that she didn't think she would ever be able to do something like that:

I watched [...] them and thought, you know I could never do that. So I watched [my partner] throw and compete and stuff like that. [(s)he said] well you can do that, and you should give it a try and it's like okay fine.

After many years of competing, Rhonda was approached about taking over a Games close to her hometown. The former AD was moving on and needed a suitable replacement; Rhonda volunteered to take over the position in the late 2000s.

Martie Rathbun and Lori Linden, 1997. Vanora remembers the first time she saw Martie and Lori competing and how she started talking with them. They were some of the people she went on to train with over the years. She said:

She was at that very first Games that I was telling you about [...] in 1997 and Martie was like the first female thrower in this area.[...] but Martie and Lori were both throwing at the Games [...] I actually started talking with some of them [...] Yeah, they're both great people and you know we'd practice together [...]

Vanora continued to compete for many years and has now transferred into more of an administrative role as an AD. She has been involved in HGHE in some capacity for almost 20 years.

Shannon Hartnett, 1990 & 1997. Ferguson and Peyton both had experiences with seeing Shannon throw and demonstrate HGHE.

Ferguson recalls seeing Shannon competing in 1989:

[...] I was at [a Games] when Shannon Hartnett first competed, but I didn't judge her class.

Peyton also recalls seeing Shannon but she wasn't competing, she was helping to instruct at a HGHE school:

Well, actually it would be Shannon Hartnett and she was one of the instructors [...] when I took the school there the first year. [...] I think it was about 1999.

Both ADs just answered the question. They did not use any words to say that they were impressed or moved by viewing their first female HGHE athlete. Nor did they explain their first

encounter in great detail. Both ADs were asked to take over the hosting duties of Games when the former AD decided to step down.

Ideal Athlete. ADs, when asked if they believed there were any differences between the “ideal” female and male HGHE athletes provided a variety of answers. Two individuals explained why they believed there was no difference; one highlighted both differences and similarities, while the final person said there were differences.

Everyone’s “ideal athlete” is slightly different. Some ADs interpreted the question in terms of skill or personality while others looked at anatomy and motivation. Certain ADs focused on sporting backgrounds and experiences, some focused on personality traits and the athlete mindset, while others explained what physiological principles of strength and power were included for an ideal athlete.

Rhonda, focusing on skills needed for HGHE, pointed out that being brought up with a track and field background transfers well into a Highland Games setting. She said:

[...] the ideal athlete has grown up with a basic skill set through track and field, which transfers into a Highland Games setting. You know, exposure to the hammers and the distances and the vectors and all of those things and you have a spinning skill already or a putting skill already, so those ideal athletes, in my opinion, come from that base.

Ferguson focused instead on personality traits suited to HGHE. He explained that within each sex there are different personalities that shine through. He described female and male athletes the same when it comes to personalities, suggesting that there are gracious winners, winners who think they are much better than everyone else and individuals who are so selfless

they would give up their spot for someone else. He thinks that someone who is well versed in the sport and can entertain the crowd is also an ideal HGHE competitor. He said:

You look at the good ones and they're essentially the same. There are all types of, the gracious winners and the, 'hey, I'm better than the whole world' winners. 'Hey, I'll let you kiss the hem of my kilt if you're nice' and then there are some that actually give up their spot for somebody else because they're that kind of person. Somebody who is clearly proficient in the sport and is kind of a showman. Somebody who can entertain the crowd and get them involved in the competition at the same time.

Vanora focused on both physiological and motivational factors tied to HGHE athletes. She began by outlining that there is a significant difference between female and male HGHE athletes physiologically (i.e., shoulder construction, strength differences), then added that when it comes to motivation the differences slip away and it depends on the person, not the sex (i.e., trying to maximize potential). She said:

So again, I see that men and women are very different [...] You've got not only the strength differences and the shoulder construction differences, you've got the mental differences [...] even though there are differences in both, there's going to be differences in the way they train and inherent talent and when you come down to it we're all individuals and we have to figure out what works for us. There's differences so yeah, but at the same time we've all got potential and all we're trying to do is maximize it.

Peyton focused on sporting attitude towards HGHE competitors. He said that the men seem to be more competitive whereas the women tend to be more social when it comes to how hard they train. He believes that the men train harder than the women. He said:

I think that some of the guys, I can't generalize amongst everybody but I think some of the guys train harder than most of the women. I know there are some women that practice and train really hard, but for the most part I think the guys train a little harder and they're a little more competitive.

The ADs focused on differences when it came to physiological things like how bodies differ in construction or the amount of training athletes put in to get their bodies in HGHE shape. They focused on similarities when it came to mental capabilities, attitudes on the field, showmanship and coming from a track and field background. The female ADs focused on female strengths more than the male ADs, who focused solely on perceived male/female differences.

Prize Money. A variety of financial resources are associated with HGHE. These include travel, food and accommodations along with prize money or simply prizes. Depending on the budget of the Games, travel to and from the Games can be covered in full or subsidized as well as accommodations. Prize money can range in monetary value from

under one hundred dollars to upwards of a couple thousand. Prizes can range from any type of weapon (i.e., sword, axe, dagger) to trophies, medals, or plaques.

It was evident throughout the interviews that prize money between the women and men was not equal for the same placing. This has been consistent since the beginning of women's involvement in HGHE. One of the ADs awarded prize money to the women, two of the ADs gave the women 'travel' money and the other AD only awarded prizes to the women. Justification for their choices linked to relative numbers of competitors, decisions about

resources made by another committee and resources already being provided to the men and thus not available for the female competitors.

Ferguson outlined about the money that the men and women make and how it correlated to the number of competitors in each section. He justified his reasons for unequal pay based on this difference:

The largest would be for the elite class first place, [which] is \$1,500.00. Just for the elite men. [The women's] first place is \$1,100.00. Not because they're women but because there is only six of them. I could've had comparable prize money for the women and the men but I didn't think it was fair, you know, the men would have to beat 11 other guys and the women would have to beat about 5 other people. So they actually get about three quarters of what the men get.

Rhonda talks of how the women are allotted a travel fund by the Games committee but receive no prize money and how she was able to increase travel money over the years. She said:

[...] when I started it was only like a \$40.00 travel, which is you know peanuts given the price of gas kind of thing and over the past couple of years I got them to come up to \$60.00, so it's still a work in progress.

She believed the Games' organizers would not even consider giving her any more money to use as prize money for the women. She alluded to this by saying that it already took a lot of hard work and convincing to get the extra \$20.00 for travel. She said:

I don't think they, I don't think [they] would honestly entertain a prize payout for the female's class. I don't think they would.

Peyton said that he awards travel money to the men as well as money for certain ‘challenge’ events like the caber and stone, but he doesn’t have any prize money for the women, just travel. He explains:

[...] travel money plus there is money for the guys for caber and the stone. It would be \$150.00 I guess would be the maximum. [...] no we don’t have any prize money for the women, just travel money.

No explanation was given as to why the women only receive travel money while the men received both travel and prize money.

Vanora talked about how her Games hosted a professional men’s class in 2011, with the prize broken down from first (\$500.00) to fifth, decreasing by \$100.00 for each placing. When asked if she had awarded prize money to female competitors her response was that they had not. She then went on to explain that they have awarded prizes, not prize money to the women. Vanora said that prizes can range from awards to weapons to jewelry:

[...] last year we did some laser cut medal, um, what would you call it, we will just call it an award. It was literally laser cut with a picture of Francis Brebner throwing the hammer and it was literally cut out of medal and it was painted. It was actually really cool looking and of course it had a little plaque on it that gave the critical information of the Games on the back. More often than not we typically get into swords and knives, any type of weaponry and we do that pretty regularly.

Only one AD implemented a monetary improvement for her athletes. She was tired of her female athletes only getting \$40 for travel, especially when they were coming from places much farther than that amount of gas and food would cover. She increased the amount of money being

given to the women. No other AD mentioned a shift in money allowances (prize or travel) for their Games.

Media Coverage. One AD confirmed that women's events have been placed in less desirable time slots unlike men's events, which generally get placed at primetime. ADs pointed out that there was a difference in media coverage and attributed it to the timing of when the events were held and the differing frequency of the events. However, one AD felt that due to the increase of female competitors in HGHE there has been an amplification of media coverage for those athletes.

Two of the ADs said there is a difference in the amount of media coverage between female and male HGHE competitors based on the timing of the event and how many days the competitions take place. One of the ADs said media coverage has increased based on the increasing number of participants while another AD simply stated there is no difference.

Rhonda and Vanora believed that there is a difference in media coverage. Rhonda said that the media coverage is getting a little better but that the women's day starts at 8:30am and there are not a lot of spectators or media present at that time. She explained that about the same time that the men start their day (later in the morning), the crowds start to roll in. She said:

So by the time we're two thirds of the way through the day and the men start [...] the crowds start to come in. So first thing in the morning there aren't a lot of people out and about unless you're a dance parent or a vendor starting to get things going. You know the whole morning is pretty slow.

Rhonda was suggesting that because the morning is slow there isn't a great deal of media present but when the crowds start to pick up towards the afternoon, that's when you start to see more of a media presence.

Vanora talked about how women only throw on one day of the festival whereas men throw both days. She said that media coverage is more proportional to how many days male versus female HG athletes compete. She also went on to talk about the public's perspective of female HGHE athletes, suggesting that the public is not interested in the women until they get to the Games and see them competing. There are usually brochures that highlight competitors, different divisions and times that events will be taking place so spectators get a glimpse of what's going on. She accredited this lack of original interest in female athletes to a traditional way of thinking about gender roles. She said:

I don't think the public are interested in the women in general but when they get to the festival, I've had so many women intrigued beyond belief. They just can't believe that this is something that we do for fun and they wish they had done something like that. You get a lot of that kind of people that still, um, have very, I don't even want to say traditional but I'll say old fashioned gender roles in their heads.

Vanora also shared how some older Games had other competitions for the women to compete in such as the skillet toss and the haggis hurl. These events would usually get more coverage from the media than other traditional events. Many Games (e.g., Grande Prairie Highland Games) now have the Haggis Hurl as well as HE competitions for women. While it used to be considered a highlight event, she explained that fortunately for her those kinds of contests do not appear at her Games. She said:

It doesn't make a lot of sense to me that, you know, women don't throw. Or women throw the Haggis. I've heard all the silly things they've done like the skillet toss, just ridiculous. Those things are not popular here and we're very fortunate in that we have athletics just like the guys and even though a few festivals might have something like that for fun, it's not associated with athletics [...].

Peyton addressed media coverage by suggesting that due to the increase in female athletes there has also been an increase in media coverage of female athletes. He said:

There hasn't been, I think in the past, like years ago, because there was very few women competing, there wasn't very much coverage. But I think now that there is more throwers it seems to be about even.

Ferguson thought that there was no difference to the media coverage of female and male athletes. The media covers what they feel is important regardless of gender, like breaking a world record. He said:

No, no I don't think so. Well, Kate Burton's world record got a nice picture in the paper about a [...] type writer page worth of a write up.

The female ADs thus discussed why women didn't get more coverage with detailed examples as compared to the male ADs who didn't consider structured reasons for existing differences due to gender.

Conclusion. According to the ADs interviewed, women have been competing in the sport of HGHE since the late 1980s and opportunities for women to compete have continued to grow each decade thereafter. The perception of ideal female athletes by ADs varies based on

physiological function, skill, personality, and/or motivation. Differences in media coverage were explained by ADs due to when the competition started during the day and how long the competition lasted, (i.e., one or more days). One AD did suggest that the coverage of female athletes has increased based on the larger amount of females competing.

Discussion

In this section, I discuss the factors that have historically shaped and been shaped by women's events in HGHE based on ADs' experiences. I conclude the section by outlining how my thesis supports, challenges and extends existing literature.

I answer my first sub-question by examining Athletic Directors' experiences with female HGHE athletes' involvement in North America. I will be consistently using the Strengths Perspective¹⁷ to help identify female athlete involvement and practices of hope¹⁸.

Start of Women's Divisions in HGHE. Some ADs were very precise in detailing when they started the women's divisions at their respective Games whereas others, who had taken over Games that already had a women's division present, were not as clear on the official start date. Enabling female competitors to have their own division encouraged more female athletes to get involved in the sport. Knowingly or not, these ADs should all be considered pioneers of their women's divisions. The fact that one of the oldest Games in North America (Antigonish) still does not host a women's division, means that creating women's events in HGHE is a resource that still needs to be provided for this to happen in many HGHE festivals.

¹⁷ Saleebey, 1996.

¹⁸ Jacobs, 2005, 2008; Snyder 2002.

First Female Competitor. The ADs identified four different women who were considered to be their first experience witnessing a female HGHE athlete. Only one AD recalled the event and used a descriptor such as, “totally blown away” to express how seeing this female athlete made her feel. The other ADs simply answered the question without providing any explanation about how this impacted their perception of women in HGHE. However, for the female ADs, this encouraged both of them to compete in the event themselves, prompting their engagement initially as athletes, which was then followed up by their involvement as administrators of the event.

Strengths of the Competition. ADs have been the ones who provide opportunities for female competitors at their respective Games. For some, the interest was already there for hosting a women’s division, which made the incorporation of a women’s section into an already existing Games easy. At other times, the idea of a women’s division was brought forward not by the competitors but by the Games committee, who suggested that women be added to the “show” to increase crowds and add new entertainment for the spectators. New opportunities are appearing every year for women in HGHE. Games that have been around for decades have recently started to add a female division to their roster of competitions. These opportunities have provided more female competitors with a chance to showcase their talents to a wider range of spectators. Allowing female competitors a chance to demonstrate their strengths and abilities to a crowd helps to increase the odds that a little girl out there might see this and be inspired, as I have experienced personally (See Appendix F). In addition to women’s divisions, some elite and masters divisions have also been added to accommodate those athletes who are more experienced or over 40.

Resources. Financial stability is usually needed to run a “successful” Games from the perspective of the committee. ADs use money as a resource to help pay for many things during a HGHE competition. The majority of the time t-shirts are provided to the athletes competing, so the crowd can differentiate who’s a competitor, a judge or on the field crew. A large amount of equipment is needed to host a HE competition, such as throwing implements, barriers, cages, standards, measuring tapes, clipboards, and tents. At times water and occasionally food is provided for all those participating and helping out during the Games. On top of the equipment and food that is provided, sometimes prize money and/or prizes are awarded to the top competitors. This financial resource can be viewed as a strength of the competition or a future strength that competitions should strive towards. The more money a Games has for athletes to win the more likely that they are going to attend those Games and try to hit big numbers. If there is prize money on top of travel money the top athletes in the country and North America will be interested in attending. The relative equality provided for prizes and money is slowly increasing between female and male competitors across North America but there is still a long way to go.

Many ADs mentioned family and/or friends, who helped them in running a successful HE competition. These human resources are imperative in having a Games run smoothly, from the volunteers who keep score, to the field crew who measure and retrieve implements, to the judges who officiate the events. These individuals make each Games possible. Without these human resources Games would be extremely difficult to run.

Media coverage during the Games seems to depend on where and when the competitions take place. The media is a resource because the reporters and photographers help to advertise competitors and showcase what heavy events are taking place at the Games. There are potential future strengths that ADs could consider regarding the media. For example, they could contact

the local newspaper(s) and tell them what time the event starts and perhaps give a little background on some of the competitors who are going to be participating. This might be enough of an incentive for reporters to make an extra effort to find their way out to the field earlier in the day to see all of the divisions as they compete.

Prize Money. When female athletes first started their HGHE competitions there was no prize money on the line. Over the years this prize money has increased and at one Games it is almost equal to what the men make for the same placing. There was not a lot of justification from the ADs as to why prize money wasn't being provided equally to the female athletes. Some stated that it was out of their control, suggesting that the Games committee had more power over the rules and resources than the HE AD. They also listed points that could be viewed as rationale for why the women weren't getting paid the same as the men such as a lower number of competitors to beat in the field. In this way, they justified the differences as being necessary and appropriate.

Ideal Athlete. ADs touched on what they believed to be the ideal athletes' characteristics. It seemed to depend on how they interpreted the question as to what answer they gave. Skill and anatomy fell into the category of physical traits. These traits were considered to be advantageous to the ideal athlete. Other ADs believed that the athlete mindset and motivation were more ideal. These would be more of a psychological trait.

Female versus Male AD Perspectives. When commenting on the physical traits of HGHE athletes, both the male and female ADs focused on female participants as athletes and did not use stereotypical language in their descriptions such as being attractive, or having a nice smile. There was no emphasis placed on them "doing gender", (e.g., women should enhance their femininity).

This challenges literature of “doing gender” which suggests that ideal female athletes align with “emphasised femininity” (Bruce, 2012; Coakley & Donnelly, 2004; Coakley, 2009).

Female ADs appeared to have more in depth insights on female competitors than did the male ADs. For example when asked to list the qualities of the ideal athlete, female ADs gave specific examples such as having a track and field background, while the male ADs provided a more general athlete description. The female ADs also spoke about how female competitors became their role models when they first witnessed them competing. The male ADs simply stated their memory with no additional information about how or if it influenced them. Also, during the topic of media coverage, the female ADs discussed why the women didn’t get as much coverage as the male athletes, while the male ADs didn’t consider gender to be an important factor in media coverage. These differences in depth of answers may be due to the fact that both female ADs were/are competitors themselves, and they could speak from personal experience.

Sub-Question 2

To explore how female competitors in HGHE shaped and have been shaped by their experiences in the sport, interviews were conducted with professional/elite female athletes from across North America. Elite female athletes, in this study, included women who are ranked in the top 10 of their respective countries (Canada and United States), and who had competed in HGHE for at least 2 years. The interview times ranged from 31 to 75 minutes with an average length of about 52 minutes. Questions used during the interview process can be found in Appendix G. Each participant was eager to share her experiences about being involved in HGHE.

There were eight athletes interviewed for this study. Half of the participants were from Canada and the remainder were from the United States. Their residences spanned from the western to the eastern coast of North America and from northern Canada to southern United States. Individuals identified their ethnicity as being Irish, English, Native, American or Canadian. The women's postsecondary education backgrounds included a variety of degrees or diplomas in areas such as finance, kinesiology, forensics and mechanics. Their jobs entailed a variety of professions such as coaching/training, self-employment, retail and city employee. Female participants ranged in age from their mid-20s to late 40s with an average age of 32.75. These women have been involved in HGHE anywhere from two to 15 years and have been competing as a professional/elite¹⁹ woman for at least one year.

Themes. Drawing on a strengths and hope perspective, seven themes helped to explain how women shape and are shaped by their involvement in HGHE. These themes were apparent throughout the analysis of the 8 athlete transcripts and included: emphasis on physical strengths, the importance of human and financial resources, physicality as key for the ideal athlete, stereotypic gendered media coverage, the support for drug testing and for sex testing within elite sport, addressing challenges to reach sporting goals and shaping and being shaped by the HGHE 'family'.

Emphasis on Physical Strengths. When asked about their "strengths", six of the eight athletes responded solely with physical strengths. It was only upon prompting that the six athletes then identified additional psychological strengths. There were four general responses when talking

¹⁹ Women are considered "elite" when they have been invited to participate in competitions considered by the HGHE organizers to be "elite." These competitions are usually invitation only and sometimes they are based on athletes' rankings on NASGA or CSAF.

about their physical strengths. Athletes said they had a throwing background, they had previous weight training experience, they had good technique and/or they were naturally strong.

Five of the athletes interviewed competed at a post-secondary level in track and field, two contested track and field events in high school and one was completely new to throwing.

Athletes who spoke about their throwing backgrounds as being a strength, suggested that it gave them an advantage over other athletes who did not come from that same background. As Caroline²⁰ explains, her two strengths are her track and field background and lifting:

Well I had a track and field background that really helped. So throwing wise I had kind of like a leg up on some people who have never really thrown before and I also had a lifting background to go off of. That definitely helps to do the heavy weight for distance or just the heavy Braemar stone.

Her strengths, which were shaped by her track and field experience, therefore shaped her HGHE experience. Similarly, Maisie said that her long time weight training and throwing career has helped her advance in HGHE:

The strengths I had coming into this sport was definitely having the weight training that I've done for the last 12-13 years [...] I kind of understood the basics of throwing and I was very fortunate to be around people who have been throwing for a number of years [...].

For other athletes, track and field experiences or weight training was not at the top of their physical strengths list. As Idelle explained, she was fortunate to be graced with athleticism, not natural strength:

²⁰ Pseudonyms were chosen for each athlete from a list of Scottish baby names.

Definitely my speed and athleticism and as I've gone on I've tried to gain strength to match that.

Unlike Idelle, Mackenzie and Iona both identified their strengths as being “natural.” They are also the only two athletes who answered using both physical and psychological strengths without being prompted.

Mackenzie said:

I'm just naturally strong, so I think just being naturally strong and when I want something I try my hardest to get it, I guess that's just all that helps.

Mackenzie's mindset showcased the desire and will to succeed. Iona thought that her psychological strengths helped her on the field as much as her physical strengths. She explained that other competitors are not as fortunate:

[...] I mean I think I've been naturally strong my whole life [...] I think also my mindset and my personality and how I deal with certain situations. There are some girls out there who can totally throw off their game if they get into the wrong mindset.

The other six athletes who did not initially identify any psychological strengths were prompted to give examples. The psychological strengths they mentioned focused on having a competitive nature, determination, a positive attitude, drive, motivation, and a love of winning. Each of these strengths contributed toward being a strong-minded athlete.

Lara stated that her competitive nature helped her with the physicality of HGHE. She is thus suggesting that she is being shaped by others' perceptions of her throwing ability while

competing. Lara said that by practicing the harder events she felt less like a “buffoon” while on the throwing field and this made competing easier. She said:

[...] I'm pretty competitive. I don't like losing, I kind of you know like, with physical things like, figuring out, you know with like heavy weight, it's not something that you're really used to doing, it's awkward, I kind of like to just figure it out.

Having a track and field background, Caroline suggested that she had developed a good mindset for competition especially because HGHE has nine different events. She said:

I think I just have a great head for that. Or the fact that having done track and field before, if you have one bad throw in one event [...] you have to just let it go and move on to the next one and I feel like that helped carry over into Highland Games.

That competitive spirit shone through in Maisie's answer as well. She explained that her involvement in HGHE has helped to shape her by constantly being able to see a measurement of her accomplishment during each Games. She said that she loved throwing because there is a definite mark to achieve:

I just love to win. I love to compete and win. I like throwing because there is a definite mark that you need to beat. Some Games, if you're at say hockey, you're competing against other people and it's just, you don't know how much better you're getting each game. But with Highland Games you have a definite mark, a distance, you can look and see that you threw an inch better, I threw a foot better, I threw an inch worse. There is a definite number there that drives me. I like to see that number improve.

Athletes were asked if any strengths had been enhanced through their involvement in HGHE. Answers included physical advancement, having humour, enjoying peoples' company, and becoming a better coach.

Four athletes stated that their strengths have been enhanced by physical advancements in their bodies and in turn, throwing. Iona, Alison and Caroline talked about how they have all seen improvements physically in their throwing. Iona explained this was done by repetition:

[...] definitely through learning new throwing styles, because obviously we don't have all the same events in college. Um, so just practicing with those, my strength has increased, probably a lot since I first started. And really I think just being familiarized with what we do and what to expect at Games [...].

Caroline added to Iona's comment by suggesting that her throwing has improved, as well as her body physically:

I mean I guess my throwing has definitely improved since I started and it definitely [...] strengthened parts of me physical wise, parts I didn't know I needed to work on. Doing these events made me realize I needed to strengthen certain parts of myself to do better and progress.

Alison added that her mental strengths have helped to increase her physical strengths:

[...] it's mostly affected my physical, so mental I've dug in my heels to accomplish better throws from season to season and that's led to a better physical body, stronger body and better health.

One athlete talked about how she was able to make light of a hard situation by using humour to cope. Lara had used her strength, humour, to help her move around the barrier of

“meal tickets”²¹, which is one example of the sexist conditions that can occur during a Games. She explained a situation where humour was used:

I feel like I have a pretty good sense of humor about things so even if we're not getting like meal tickets I'm still going to [...] walk by the dudes and give them a good smile and then give them the finger [...] to try and find some humor in the situation because in all honesty I feel like we just barely got the right to vote, as far as HG goes. And the progress has been super slow, and I feel like with the whole deal, probably my strong suit would be, or as far as emotional strong suits, is just trying to be able to laugh at some of the stuff, roll with some of the punches[...].

Two athletes stated that they have met and now have the ability to enjoy more peoples' company due to HGHE. Wynda talked about how she had crossed paths with many more people now than she normally would have in her daily life. She said that she had worked on her “own personal biases” and has “become more open” because of that. Mackenzie said that she is starting to open up more because of HGHE:

I started liking people more because I got to be around more people. I got to open up, like I said, I never really went out and did much before and now in the summer time I am always busy [...].

Finally, Maisie said that her coaching had improved through her involvement in Highland Games by allowing her opportunities to help out with “behind the scenes stuff”:

I've run a few more clinics, I've become a better coach myself because I have coached other people and I definitely think that's one of the things that I've enhanced through my

²¹ Meal tickets are provided at Games so athletes can collect a lunch during their break.

involvement. I want to make sure people understand how much fun it is and if you just try and put a little training into it, it's going to be a good time.

Maisie's experiences have shaped her as an individual. She has transferred her knowledge, as an athlete, to the role of a coach, in order to help shape others. This example points out that individuals are constantly shaping while being shaped by their experiences and by those around them.

The Importance of Human and Financial Resources. The athletes were asked to list resources that could further the strengths of the competition and their strengths. These potential resources included human, financial and material. Four athletes mentioned human resources, three answered financial resources and one did not list any resources.

When athletes were asked about how they became involved in HGHE they all explained that one person helped to introduce them to the Games. Seven of eight athletes were introduced by a male and one by a female. Maisie recalled her training when she started HE as compared to now and the impact having a coach has had on her performances. She said:

Definitely having a coach, I mean I am a coach by profession [...] But I still hire a strengths coach to write all my programming. I've written my own for about 4 years and I did okay, I was throwing okay but I would not do the things I didn't like to do because I didn't write them for myself. I would recommend finding someone else who knows more than you do and learn from that person. For throwing I still seek out all the pro athletes and say 'Hey, what works for you? Can you take a look at this?' This darn Facebook is just so handy; you post something and everyone has a comment. But definitely take a lot of advice [,] question others and give it a chance.

Maisie explained that when she was starting out she maintained full control of her lifting program. However, now that she has hired a coach, she is benefitting from this human resource, who ultimately has helped her in the long run. Her strength coach is shaping her not only physically but mentally through the workouts (s)he provides.

Maisie mentioned Facebook as a resource, however Wynda commented that the Facebook presence needs to be increased to help further the strength of community.

[...] it would be really handy to have a better online community. Like there's been Facebook groups and stuff like, women's Facebook groups, but nothing really happens on it. Just like to share knowledge of it more. I know I was so confused as to where to get a kilt and how to get implements and what do people do to train? I mean you go online and you see [in other countries] a huge online presence and people like training together and doing all this stuff and in [my country] it seems really sparse.

Lara believed that financial resources were key in order to obtain material resources. She talked about how some Games award money and others award tangible objects:

[I've] taken a lot of [the] winnings and done everything to like pay off some bills to invest back into [the] garage gym [...] so that [I] can train at home and not have to pay for a gym membership. There have been some other instances where one of the Games [...] for prizes they let us, like if you won, they let us pick like an implement, one or two implements and they paid for it.

Caroline and Iona both thought that financial resources would be better off going to the competitors to help cover the cost of travel or other expenses. Caroline said that ADs should look

at getting more sponsorships, which would increase prize money and therefore increase the strengths of the HGHE competition. She said:

I think maybe ADs that run the [Games] [...]. Maybe if they need help getting resources bringing more money in, I wish they would talk to people that they knew that did bigger competitions to get tips and suggestions on how to fundraise [...].

Iona added to Caroline's comment by saying that the money from the Games committee should be awarded more effectively:

I think [...] the Games society, well just the Scottish society that puts on the Games, truly don't understand the impact. I really don't think money should be poured more into one thing instead of another because of, [as] cheap as some may be, bringing on some ten girls, it's uh, is one man really playing a guitar going to bring as much excitement as some girls throwing telephone poles? You know what I mean?

Finally, material resources were talked about in conjunction with human resources. Idelle shared that both where she trains and the people who support her within the community are resources that help further her competition strengths. She said:

[The] gym, definitely. If you're lucky enough to live in an area close to other throwers, I found all of the throwers to be super helpful on technique and you know, the applicable lifts and stuff like that.

By learning from others Idelle has been able to improve on her technique while throwing and lifting. This mix of material and human resources has contributed to her involvement in

HGHE. Each person she comes in contact with that has experience in HGHE has helped to shape Idelle and her throwing career.

Specific financial resources, such as prize money, were an interesting topic to hear the athletes talk about, especially when it came to the comparison between male and female prize money for the same placing. Some athletes were brought into the sport by their friends, coaches or families and told that there was money to be made if you were good enough. In all of these instances the person telling the new female athlete about prize money was a male.

Professional men make more money than the professional women. Six out of the eight women were able to give examples of a time where they heard about the difference in pay. One staggering example was given by Maisie. She listed the difference in prize money totals:

[...] last place [...] for the male pros was \$1,800.00 and their travel and hotel are taken care of and they do have meal tickets for the Games. And I think for the women the last prize was \$50.00. I was very disappointed. I understand that the women don't quite have the depth but still [...] I've seen it in power lifting, I see it in strong man [...] It's across the board how women are not as equal as far as prize money goes from most competitions [...]

Caroline also stated:

[...] compared to what the women make to the men, the men can make more than double what we make. It's kind of disrespectful, I guess I could say I feel like it puts us that far behind [...]

Idelle added how she reacted when she found out about the difference in pay between the women and the men:

I don't know, it sucks; I know that the women's sport is still growing. The men have been around way longer than the women. It's grown over the years. I think we're going in the right direction. We're going to start getting paid more and more, but it's still a new sport for the women.

Another comment on prize money was made by Wynda. She talked about how there was a noticeable difference in the money awarded to females as compared to males. She said:

I definitely have heard over and over again that because the men have a 'pro' division the pro men could get [...] \$800.00 for coming in third whereas like the top woman gets a sword or no prize money or like \$100.00.

Mackenzie and Alison both said they have never talked to male competitors about the amount of money that they've received. However, Mackenzie said that she has talked about the money to the women many times. She said that she's very grateful when she does receive money for competing. Similarly, Alison said that the only time she has talked about money is in terms of how much will be provided for each placing and if there is travel money for a Games. She said:

It doesn't really matter to me, I don't go throw a Games for money. If the money is there I didn't come looking for it. Most of the time I've received money I had no idea I was going to get it.

Physicality is the Key for the Ideal HGHE Athlete. The ideal athlete as seen through the competitors' eyes is purely physical, with a slight inclusion of psychological characteristics. Every athlete talked about the physical characteristics that make a good HGHE athlete. Only a few commented on some psychological characteristics. The common words were strength, power, technique, speed, agility, and throwing background. The athlete identity is prioritized

over the gender identity. Idelle and Mackenzie both used the terms strength and power in their answers. Idelle said:

[...] a mix of strength, power and technique. You have to be pretty versatile because it's nine different events. It's not like one sport where you just have to be fast or you just have to be strong.

Mackenzie agreed with Idelle's statement by saying:

[...] I'd have to say strong. You have to be powerful. Even just to lift the 28lbs is one thing but spinning it is another.

Both Maisie and Lara believed that having a track and field throwing background was ideal. Maisie talked about having a background in sport, specifically track and field. She said:

Definitely having a background in sport. Being able to move well, track and field particularly doing two events right away with shot put and hammer are already there, so having a background in track and field is extremely helpful.

Lara explained that those athletes who had a track and field background have the repetitions in shot put and hammer that make for an easy transition to HGHE. She said that being able to move well and being agile are also key factors. She went on to add some psychological qualities that individuals have:

[...] certain people might not have one of those things but they have like a really strong work ethic and they just love it and want to be able to be a part of it, so they understand that they have to throw certain numbers to be a part of it, to get invites and get looked at, so that becomes a motivating factor for them.

In addition to Lara's psychological-based work ethic, Alison added that a good HGHE athlete just loves throwing:

Who has passion, heart; you get on the field and let's throw some stuff. After that, well I mean, there's the stages of different levels of dedication.

Stereotypic Gendered Media Coverage. Six out of eight athletes had been interviewed by the media. All six experienced some type of media focus that correlated with certain gendered patterns of female coverage²² in the literature. The questions (See Appendix G) were specifically based off of the patterns of female coverage (See Appendix J). However, there were some research patterns, specifically compulsory heterosexuality and ambivalence that the athletes had never experienced.

Idelle recalled that she thinks the women's HGHE have always been called the "women's HGHE" unlike the men's HGHE, which are just called "HGHE". This aligns with the research pattern of gender marking. She said it is "normal" for her to hear that. Caroline agreed by saying that:

[...] oh we're going from the heavy events with like so and so men and then oh, on this day they had the women's heavy events. Well it's kind of like, it's the same thing, why do you have to say it's the women's heavy events?

Only in certain instances did the media comment in line with infantilization. For example they made sexist comments on the physical traits of the women competing. Idelle mentioned that sometimes the reporters talked about her physique:

²² The patterns of female coverage were drawn from Wensing & Bruce, 2003; Wright & Clarke, 1999; Markula, 2009; Bruce, 2012.

[...] I always have some comments like, I look like I should be out running or doing highland dancing instead [...]

Maisie and Wynda mentioned that the photographers like to get particular types of pictures of the athletes while they compete. This type of photograph can be seen as a pattern of sexualisation. Caroline also mentioned that there were sometimes inappropriate pictures but didn't comment any further. Maisie explained:

[...] photographers love the caber when you're crouched down and that's always a flattering spot. Weight over bar is kind of tricky too, you're sometimes bent over and if you do have an abundant chest it usually is shown.

Wynda gave another example of how photographers strategically take photos of certain events like the height events to get the best shot:

They really seem to like pictures of the different height events you know because you see so many kilts up in the air or you know, when you're throwing WOB and leaning back everything kind of comes up and you kind of see like a full frontal kind of picture. Anything where there is a peek at spandex shorts, that's the picture they'll go with.

Support for Drug Testing. When athletes were asked about drug testing, seven said yes they think it is something HGHE federations should look into, while one said she didn't think it was appropriate. Many athletes talked about their track and field or power lifting experiences in tested federations, suggesting that they were used to being tested and had to worry about what a negative test would do to their career. Maisie talked about how some [track and field] competitions announce if it's going to be drug tested. She said:

Just because [...] it's announced that this is going to be a drug tested event. Everyone should know better and if you're going to use drugs then don't compete.

The majority of the athletes interviewed believed that elite sport is where sex and drug testing belong. However, Caroline commented that she doesn't believe drug testing is appropriate because HGHE will never be something like an Olympic event. She suggested that if spectators cared if a competitor is female or male or clean or not then it might be a different story. She said:

I just feel like it's something that so many of us do for fun, even as a pro man or an elite woman. That it's just a fun thing, no one's going to give up their 40 hours a week job to just go do Highland Games 24/7, like that would be impossible. It's not going to pay like a professional NFL football player or something. So I think, I just don't see why they would want to do that. I don't think it's appropriate at all.

Finally, Mackenzie commented saying that she thinks maybe special events should be tested but not the average Games:

There should be some type of testing. Whether that's for championships or paid competitions.

Support for Sex Testing. Many athletes tied their sex testing and drug testing answers together. I had to prompt some athletes to give a separate answer about sex testing, however many just said their answer was the same as their answer for drug testing. Those athletes who did comment separately on sex testing suggested that sex testing would take HGHE to the next level.

Maisie said that right now HGHE is more of a hobby for her to make some extra cash. She's afraid that if sex testing were to take place it would make the sport more serious:

I'd like to keep stuff on an even playing field but then again this is kind of a hobby. [...] that just seems like it's going to take it to the next step of being something very, very serious and I don't think there is enough people out there to make it very serious.

Wynda made the argument that athletes should be given the option of being sex tested, referring to the example that in power lifting you can choose to compete in a tested or untested federation. She said:

I don't see why not, I think as long as this is a system that, if you're going to get into drug testing or sex testing as long as it's a clear opt in opt out kind of system. If you want to compete at, you know, there could be a kind of league let's say Scottish Games League. If you want to compete in Games in a certain league you have to agree that you could be drug tested or you could be sex tested or stuff like that and if you don't want to be faced with those possibilities then you just don't go to those Games, you know? I don't think anyone should be subjected to sex testing if they weren't at least informed about it as a possibility.

Idelle added to the conversation on sex testing by saying that HGHE should be treated just like any other sport:

Just like any other sport right? I mean there are some chicks that you're really wondering and I don't know, they might be at an unfair advantage and we won't know because we don't test.

When asked about drug testing Caroline was adamant that the testing was not appropriate. Her thoughts also carried over to sex testing. She was given an example another athlete used about a female athlete competing who had non-feminine characteristics and was throwing better than all the other women. Her response was:

But it is what it is, you know? I don't think I would complain about it. I think it would be like well, that's just someone who's doing really well; good for them.

Successfully Addressing Challenges to Reach Sporting Goals. Hope can be seen as both an individual²³ process and “hope in” a shared future²⁴ as a community. I asked individuals what their goals were entering into the sport of HGHE. Some athletes listed off specific physical goals, doing well at competitions, having fun, not having any goals, and/or setting specific ranking goals (i.e., number one or hit the top ten). These goals were accompanied by the hope that they could accomplish these goals and the path they imagined to help them reach the goals.

Maisie's and Wynda's goals were both number oriented. Maisie explained how she wanted to achieve a specific ranking along with certain steps she was going to take to achieve it. Wynda, on the other hand, gave a black and white answer with no explanation afterwards:

I wanted to break the top ten.

Unlike the other two women, Caroline was more focused on having fun instead of on a specific ranking position:

I just wanted to have fun and do well. I didn't really have any high expectations because I didn't really know what I was getting myself into.

²³ Snyder, 2002.

²⁴ Jacobs 2005, 2008.

After athletes listed their goals, they were asked if they ever doubted their ability to reach those goals. This doubt can be seen as a barrier that the athlete had to address in order to continue on their path in order to achieve their goals.

Alison mentioned that she always had doubts about her abilities to reach her goals:

Always, I wondered if I've pushed the limit.

In contrast to this, Maisie and Mackenzie both said they did not have any doubts in their abilities to reach those goals. Mackenzie said that at “no point in time” did she have any doubts.

The athletes were then asked if there had been any alterations to their plans. A variety of answers were given such as affordability, having to sacrifice things, spending more time in the gym, and child birth.

Idelle talked about how her alterations were based on affordability. Her goal was to travel to different locations and throw. This comes at a cost. For some athletes it is easier to find the funds to travel than for others. Funding for travel is a big point that Idelle addressed:

I've had to alter plans on competition [...] I'm always altering plans depending on what I can afford.

However, rather than a financial sacrifice, Alison discussed how she had to make “a lot of sacrifices” to become the best athlete that she could be. Similarly, Maisie said that she had to make some sacrifices to advance her HGHE career:

Yes, I gave up on going to some weddings and visiting friends or doing family stuff because I planned to do a Games instead. I also picked up an extra job to pay for my travel. I've

worked extra shifts to get that money so I could do that. I guess I just go along with anything that I want to do; you always have to make sacrifices.

Such sacrifices can be seen as a way to move around barriers like travel expenses or life style changes. These athletes followed their paths toward their preferred future by addressing the barriers that stood in front of them and altering their plans to move around or through these barriers.

Shaping and Being Shaped By The HGHE “Family” Community. Duality of structure is one of the underpinnings of a hope and strengths perspective. When athletes were asked if they had been shaped in any way by the HGHE community, their answers were quite similar. All eight athletes touched upon making friends and the family aspect that the Games brought into their lives.

Mackenzie stated that when she is on the field “it’s like we’re one big family.” She added:

Off the field I’ve had the pleasure of making a few new lifelong friendships [...] I think I’ve gained in my life from it.

Caroline expanded on Mackenzie’s comment by suggesting that others have shaped her, noting that experiencing the effort that goes into a Games makes you appreciate it more. She said:

[...] I think it’s all positive the way that they shaped me. Meeting the people and seeing how much they love to do this and setting up and how much goes into the festivals and everything and how much hard work a lot of these ADs put into it.

When athletes were asked if they have shaped the HGHE community in any way, their answers were less uniform. Some athletes mentioned that they hoped to leave a legacy; they've made an impact by helping other athletes learn techniques, keeping a positive attitude on the field or by simply throwing competitively as a female. Alison said that the biggest way she's shaped others was by giving them ideas and tips from things that she had learned over the years:

To encourage and influence younger throwers to throw safely and throw effectively.

Mackenzie agreed with Alison. She said that showing new athletes different techniques and helping them to "better themselves" was a great feeling. Caroline added by saying that she has hosted clinics before and getting people interested and teaching them helps the community.

I feel like bringing new people in to share the experience has been one of the things I really like to do.

Similarity, Idelle's experience with young spectators had the potential to bring new females into the sport of HGHE. She said that the biggest way she has shaped the HGHE community is by simply throwing as a female. She said that she is making the sport more accessible for female athletes:

I've actually met younger females in the crowd and [their parents have said] 'thank you for doing this, because my daughter sees you and now she's interested in it too and she wants to learn how to lift weights and learn how to throw this' and I think [...] just with doing my thing, that females have, you know, seen it [as] more accessible and not just a men's sport and we need a whole lot more of this.

Caroline and Idelle bring up good points about creating a community that will have future athletes interested in competing for years to come. Mackenzie's and Alison's comments also aid to the development of current and future HGHE athletes. They alluded to the fact that in order to have a growing women's divisions they must do their part in sharing as much knowledge and expertise as possible with younger generations of throwers.

Discussion

In this section, I discuss how female athletes shape and have been shaped by their experiences while competing in Highland Games Heavy Events and the ways my results support, extend or challenge existing literature. I answered my second sub-question by examining eight elite female athletes' experiences across North America in HGHE. I used a Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984; Paraschak, 2000) framework to help identify how female athletes shape and have been shaped by their experiences competing in HGHE.

Emphasis on Physical Strengths. Athletes always listed their physical strengths first. I believe this is because HGHE is a very physically demanding sport, which requires a great deal of physical strength. I think the athletes are almost conditioned to answer a "strengths" question by focusing on the physical, when talking about the sport of HGHE. Although two of the eight athletes did identify psychological strengths to describe their experiences without prompting, the other six did not. The athletes sounded proud of their strengths, as they should, both physical and psychological.

When the athletes talked about physical strengths there were a lot of non-stereotypical "female" words used, which challenges the existing literature (Wensing & Bruce 2003). These are words that you would more commonly find reading a male football or hockey review, such as

speed, athleticism, and power. The lack of emphasised femininity (Coakley, 2009) present suggests that the women do not see themselves as the stereotypical female athlete. While athletes did not mention anything along the lines of emphasised femininity, I have noticed that some of them still “need” to compete with their makeup on, their hair done and wearing jewelry. This suggests that they are unknowingly reinforcing traditional gender logic by emphasising their femininity (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004; Coakley, 2009).

Some of the athletes used the term “natural strength” while explaining their physical strengths. “Natural strength” suggests that these athletes perceived themselves as being born strong, which extends the literature. As compared to other females who are usually portrayed as weak or small in stature (Bruce, 2012), these women saw themselves as different in regards to their physical strengths. The two athletes who suggested that this is ‘normal’ did not come from the same walks of life, yet both ended up competing in HGHE at an elite level. By using Saleebey’s (1996) framework on strengths it can be said that these women see their “physical strength” as a type of strength that allows them to carry on and overcome barriers (i.e., financial, social) in a traditionally male sport like HE.

After being prompted for psychological strengths, the remaining athletes noted very similar characteristics to describe themselves. All of the women talked about how their determination and competitive nature has helped them excel in HGHE. This fits within the athlete mindset. Athletes see themselves as an athlete first over their gender identity, which for these female athletes would mean they are challenging the traditional gender logic (Coakley, 2009).

The Importance of Human and Financial Resources. Athletes listed current resources that help make for a better experience while competing in HGHE. These resources were broken down into three main categories: human, financial and material. Included within financial resources is the comparison of prize money between the men and the women.

Human resources that athletes listed revolved around individuals who had helped them to advance their HGHE career. HGHE is not a well-known sport; it is thus difficult for the average person to become involved. The majority of athletes were introduced to HGHE by someone they knew. The majority of introductions were made by males due to the overwhelming number of male competitors participating in the sport. This challenges the current literature on how women have broken into male dominated sports, such as women's hockey (Wang, 2009). This human resource can be seen as a family member, a friend, a coach or a competing athlete observed on the field and later approached for guidance.

Human resources are one of the fundamental building blocks for creating a community feel within HGHE competitions. A few competitors talked about how they learned techniques from others who have been participating in the sport for a number of years, during their own designated practice time or during a competition. Athletes in HGHE are always willing to share their knowledge to better someone else's performance. In other sports such as hockey, women tried to break through and create their own leagues but they were met with great resistance (Wong, 2009). In HGHE these women were introduced mainly by male competitors; there was some resistance to female competitors joining the ranks of the males but less than in other traditionally male sports (e.g., tackle football). Athlete information regarding how they got into the sport and the support they received from males who were already involved challenges the current literature. Perhaps this may be due to the fact there were men already involved in the

sport who would vouch for the women entering and the women didn't try to create their own organizations (i.e., LOHA); they were just absorbed by the governing bodies that already existed (i.e., CSAF, NASGA).

The financial resource athletes consistently mentioned was winning prize money at a Games. They talked about how this money goes to various things to help improve their sporting lives from increasing training equipment, to paying off bills or covering the cost of travel to other Games. These are all very important aspects when training as an elite HGHE athlete. Most athletes mentioned that Games organizers should do a better job of providing money to the female competitors. It was mentioned by a few athletes that females do not make as much money as males. This inequity is supported by the literature because it is apparent in plenty of other sports such as soccer, basketball or hockey, just to name a few (Walters, 2016; Thompson & Lewis, 2014).

A lack of equality in prize money is apparent in HGHE. The fact that in some circumstances the women are making only 5% of what the men are making for the same placing should raise a red flag for all those involved. It is time that typically male dominated sports reflect on the benefits of paying their women participants equally. When competitions award more money to the men it reinforces that the women athletes are of less importance. It suggests that the women's performances are worth less than the men and should be considered second class in sports like HGHE.

Material resources were only briefly touched upon by certain athletes. In HGHE these material resources flow from financial and human resources because of how "unique" they are. One type of material resource would be a caber or weights, which are not readily accessible in

stores. The only way athletes can get their hands on these practice materials is to ask around and use their human resources to guide them towards obtaining such material resources. Once athletes have found where to get these material resources (i.e., caber) they must then purchase them, which comes back to having enough financial resources available.

One material resource that was listed was the gym out of which an athlete trains. Another resource that can be seen as material would be food. At some Games food vouchers are provided to athletes. The ADs are usually the ones in charge of meal ticket distribution. In the past, certain Games have provided male athletes a voucher but not female athletes. The lack of meal tickets provided to the women's division, at some Games, can be viewed as evidence of unequal treatment. This practice suggests that those in charge (the ADs and/or Games committee) who hold the power of voucher distribution dictate that the women are not equal to the men when it comes to receiving this material resource (food). Those who obtain a meal ticket hold more of an ability to get needed resources (food) than those who do not. This situation has shaped the women and men involved by reinforcing societal norms suggesting women are less deserving of resources (e.g., in HGHE) than men.

Physicality is the Key Characteristic of the Ideal HGHE Athlete. Athletes' answers in this section were similar to their answers in the strengths section of their interview. The words strength, power, technique, and passion were used. Many athletes listed a track and field background in throwing as an ideal characteristic for a good HGHE athlete. The women focused their answers on physical strengths first and then on psychological strengths. Having a strong work ethic and being dedicated to the sport were answers athletes gave. The majority of these women have competed in varsity level track and field. Many of them already knew, due to previous personal experience, the type of mindset that creates a great athlete.

The women did not suggest that there was a difference between a good female or male HGHE athlete. Answering this question without gender marking suggests that these women feel as though they were describing a general HGHE athlete, regardless of their sex. These women have been around HGHE long enough to experience competitions with males and females and have accordingly condensed down all of the ideal traits that they think reflect a good HGHE athlete. The trait of humour was brought up and reflected a shift in focus from being upset about not qualifying for a food voucher to laughing it off with a vulgar, yet funny joke. This extends the literature on strengths by showing that athletes are able to challenge barriers by going through or around them and one of these challenges to a barrier is humour (Saleebey, 1996). This instance showcases that athletes are able to cope with situations that they may not think are fair, and are able move on and come out the other side with a smile on their face.

Stereotypic Gendered Media Coverage. Gender marking was apparent during interviews as something these women had experienced. Two athletes were able to give specific examples, stating that Highland Games Heavy Events were naturalized as male, while the “Women’s” Heavy Events were sex-identified. Based on the literature regarding women’s sports media coverage, this is a common trend (Wensing & Bruce, 2003); this data thus supports the literature. One athlete even stated that it is normal for her to hear the women’s division labelled as “women’s” and then to have no gender marking associated with the men’s divisions.

Another pattern identified by the athletes was that of infantilization (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Reporters, for example, would suggest that a HGHE athlete doesn’t look like she should be out there throwing but instead should be participating in more “traditional” sports such as running or highland dancing. This is common in sports regularly dominated by male competitors. This infantilization ties into “appropriate femininity”, which suggests that female athletes are

considered to be more childlike as compared to male athletes. This supports the literature that reporters do this to make women seem less threatening as compared to the men (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

The final media pattern that emerged was when athletes talked about photographers and published photographs they have seen of themselves or of others. The sexualisation of female HGHE athletes is apparent in their descriptions. A few of the women said that pictures that are published can be unflattering. They listed some examples about being bent over and crouched picking up a caber while photographers got a photo from behind. Another stated that there are inappropriate photographs (Markula, 2009) like when an athlete bends down to swing the weight for height and there is a clear shot of her chest. These patterns of female coverage were listed by athletes who have experienced or witnessed them first hand on the field of play.

The patterns of ambivalence and appropriate femininity did not emerge through my analysis, which challenges the literature done by Wensing and Bruce, (2003) and Bruce (2012) respectively. Ambivalence may not have been apparent because, in my experience, sometimes it does not occur at a HGHE competition from a reporter, however, it is more likely to come from an announcer or spectator. An example would be when an announcer makes a comment about the female competitors stating that they are much smaller in comparison to the men and that's why the implements don't go quite as far. I also believe that these women are subject to appropriate femininity but not necessarily from the media. As mentioned previously, some of these women unknowingly follow the practice of traditional gender logic, for example by applying makeup before competing. The patterns may not be apparent in their answers, but future research could be done specifically on these topics to gather a better understanding of where, if at all, they fit in the HGHE context.

Support for Drug Testing. As mentioned before, the majority of the athletes interviewed have participated in varsity athletics. I think that the seven to one opinion of whether sex testing and drug testing is appropriate stems from their involvement in tested sports. The vast majority of the athletes interviewed have competed in some type of tested sport organization. Being an athlete in an organization that is tested (i.e., track and field) creates a fear of being tested and of receiving a positive test. This fear is combined with the knowledge that everyone else you are competing against is considered to be “clean”. Some athletes call this the “even playing field”. Some of the women have also been competitive in power lifting, which has two federations (drug tested and non-drug tested). One athlete suggested that if competitions were to include drug testing then organizers would have to make this decision public knowledge before the competition takes place, so athletes who would not like to be tested can avoid that competition.

Currently there are no doping rules regulated by NASGA or CSAF. The IHGF (International Highland Game Federation) has doping rules but only when it comes to national and world championships for the men. The athletes also noted that if HGHE were to become more serious, then Games would have to award money for performance, like a serious sport such as hockey. Finally, one athlete said that she thinks testing should only take place at championship events, similarly to what the IHGF already does. CSAF has one line on their website that talks about drug testing. It suggests that it will uphold a negative doping test with the two year suspension for athletes who violate WADA standards (CSAF, 2016b). There is no information on drug testing being provided by the organization. From my personal experience I know that drug testing is extremely expensive and that the CSAF does not have the funding to complete regular tests on athletes.

Support for Sex Testing. Athletes' responses to sex testing were very similar to their answers about drug testing. Comments made by more than one athlete, explained that because HGHE is more of a hobby, HG federations and athletes don't take it too seriously. The majority of athletes just want the playing field to be fair and level. One athlete said that if the sport were to become more serious, then testing would absolutely have to be regulated somehow. Seeing as how in summer of 1999 the IOC, "conditionally rescinded its 30-year requirement for onsite gender screening of all women" starting at the 2000 Olympic Games (Elsas et al., 2000), it is doubtful that sex testing will become a requirement for HGHE any time soon, thus supporting the current literature. One athlete's opinion opposed all others. She suggested that if a woman was to come on the field and throw big numbers she would be accepting of her, regardless of whether or not she looked "female". She's saying that in her eyes, sex testing is not needed. This challenges the literature, which suggests that women try to avoid "suspicion" by over emphasizing their femininity with practices such as applying makeup, doing their hair and/or wearing wedding/engagement rings while competing (Bell, 2008; Coakley, 1998). This over emphasizing of their femininity was not apparent during the interviews, thus challenging the literature on emphasized femininity in male dominated sports.

Successfully Addressing Challenges to Reach Sporting Goals. Athletes described their goals and therefore their hope in achieving those goals as laid out by Snyder (2002). Some goals they listed were sport specific (e.g., breaking the top ten) while others were more generic (e.g., wanting to have fun). Once athletes were finished outlining their goals they talked about any doubts they had, or if they had to alter their plans in any way. Barriers to achieving their goal can produce doubts or alterations to overcome the barrier. Addressing barriers enable athletes to continue along their path to achieving their goal. These accomplishments can be seen as a way to

move around/past barriers (e.g., travel expenses) allowing athletes to continue following their path toward a preferred future. This aligns with Saleebey's (1989) suggestion that even though barriers stood in an individuals' way she was able to overcome barriers by drawing on her strengths. When HGHE athletes overcame barriers they were able to continue along on their path of hope (Snyder, 2002).

Shaping and Being Shaped by the HGHE “Family” Community. Athletes were asked to describe how they have been shaped by the HGHE community. Some of the women responded by saying that they have been positively shaped by the HGHE community (e.g., seeing how ADs love to organize a Games). Athletes were then asked if they have shaped the HGHE community in any way. Their responses were similar. Some said that they have shaped new athletes by helping them with technique or have influenced spectators to get involved by sharing their experiences with them, and finally they mentioned influencing young girls who see them competing and proving that women can participate; that it is not just a men's sport. Giddens (1984) outlines the duality of structure that occurs between individuals and their social world. Athletes' answers demonstrated how this is relevant within the HGHE community. The athletes' responses showed how the HGHE community has helped to shape them while they have been shaping the community around them at the same time.

Sub-Question 3

To examine the newspaper coverage of women in HGHE as compared to their male counterparts and other female participants such as pipers and dancers a media review was conducted. The media review covered over 114 articles spanning from 1994 to 2015. 48% of the

articles were collected between 1994 and 2004 while the other 52% was collected from 2005 to 2015. The search terms listed previously were used (See Section 3).

Two types of analysis were completed for the media review. The content analysis looked at what percentage of the article was related to the main topic by determining what the main focus or sole focus of the article was. I then checked to see if the article was written in a positive, negative or mixed tone. I also calculated the percentage of articles written by a female author, male author or anonymous author (no name attached to the article). A textual analysis examined six types of patterns in female coverage. These patterns are gender marking, infantilization, compulsory heterosexuality, sexualisation, appropriate femininity and ambivalence.

Table 1: The patterns of female coverage as they appeared in the 114 articles reviewed in relation to women's HGHE, piping and dancing.

Patterns of Female Coverage	Women's HGHE (35)*	Piping (25)	Dancing (25)
Gender Marking	23	0	0

Infantilization	11	0	0
Compulsory Heterosexuality	8	0	2
Sexualisation	1	0	0
Appropriate Femininity	0	0	0
Ambivalence	0	0	0

*8 articles had more than one pattern of female coverage present in them.

Content Analysis

The average length of the articles was 523 words. The longest article was 1,350 words and the shortest was 211 words. The main focus was determined if the article had over 50% of the words related to HE, piping or dancing. The sole focus was determined if the entire article's focus was on either HE, piping or dancing. There was also a mixed focus category, which suggested that the article did not have a sole focus yet touched on all or some of HE, dancing or piping. The results are displayed in Table 2.

Appendix P charts the number of articles that had patterns of female coverage by year they were published.

Table 2: Percentage of Article Focus

Focus of Article	Percentage
<i>Heavy Event Main Focus</i>	10%
<i>Piping Main Focus</i>	5%

<i>Dancing Main Focus</i>	7%
<i>Heavy Event Sole Focus</i>	20%
<i>Piping Sole Focus</i>	11%
<i>Dancing Sole Focus</i>	23%
<i>Mixed Focus</i>	24%

Positive Tone. The articles displayed a variety of tones. Only 2% of the articles had a negative tone, while positive tones were determined in 78% of the articles and another 20% had a mixed tone (positive and negative tones in the same article). Those articles featured some joking comments such as:

These porridge and oats boys – and gals, too, now – really know how to throw their weight around. (Hay, 2003).

Female versus Male Authors. I calculated the percentage of articles written by female, male and anonymous authors (no name on the article). Female authors accounted for 37% of the articles published about Highland Games in Canada. Slightly more male authors covered the Games, totalling 43%. A meaningful 20% of anonymous authors ranging from the provinces of British Columbia to New Brunswick also covered the games in Canada from 1994 until 2015.

Female versus Male HGHE Articles. When conducting the searches for female and male HGHE articles there were not many more articles that listed male competitors than there were that listed female competitors. Using the search terms “Heavy Events” & “Female*” yielded 72 results and then “Heavy Events” & “Male” yielded 58 results. When I changed the search terms from female and male to women and men the results were the almost identical to

each other. When I searched “Heavy Events” & “Women*” there were 264 results and when I searched “Heavy Events” & “Men” I ended up with 272 results. This seems to indicate that the coverage between male and female HGHE athletes is relatively comparable.

Textual Analysis

Women’s HGHE vs. HGHE. Gender marking²⁵ was a highly evident pattern of female coverage that appeared regarding female athletes in HGHE. The majority of newspaper articles collected about HGHE had some type of gender marking included. The typical pattern was identification of the women’s HE competition as “women’s HE” while the men’s competition was almost always labelled as HE rather than “men’s HE”.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s a lot of articles had statements reflecting how exciting it was that this year a women’s division would be included. For example, a St. Catharine’s newspaper noted:

The program, from Aug. 13 to 15, includes such daytime pursuits as Highland dancing, the Heavy Events where large objects are tossed about, and the Strongman competition, which leads towards the finals in Toronto that will anoint Canada’s Strongest Man. This being the end of the century, there are also strong women and heavy contests for females, too. (Anonymous, 1999 a.)

This paragraph, along with a few other summary points, was reprinted in Brantford, Toronto and Kingston newspapers.

²⁵“Gender Marking” is when a women’s event is labelled as “Women’s” HGHE while a men’s event is simply labelled as HGHE (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

Gender marking is still taking place in the 21st century. LaFrance, from New Brunswick started off the (2012) article neutrally by pointing out that both men and women compete in HGHE. He then went on to explain which divisions threw over the weekend.

The female athletes competed on Sunday morning, July 29. In the Masters (over 40) category [...] The Professional Heavy Events group competed Saturday afternoon, July 28 [...]

The reporter used the word “female” to differentiate the women’s category from the rest of the competitors. However, nowadays, women’s events are less likely to be the only division preceded by their gender, thus reducing and/or eliminating the gender marking pattern. In an article written by Devon MacKenzie (2014) he writes:

Spectators will be able to see both male and female world-class athletes at the Games representing the professional side of the sport.

When reviewing articles written about pipers or dancers, there was no gender marking patterns present. Articles written in 1999 were virtually the same as articles written in 2014. There were several statements in articles explaining that men were the “original” dancers but that now its competitors are predominantly female.

She’s a Nursing Mother. Infantilization²⁶ appeared in 26% of articles written about female HGHE athletes. Sometimes the author placed information into the article to suggest the female athletes were more non-threatening. At times it was a physical trait and at other times it is something about the athletes that had nothing to do with HGHE.

²⁶“Infantilization” assumes that women in male dominated sports are seen as a threat. To make these women nonthreatening, reports used the terms “girls” and focused on non-sport related aspects (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

In the heavy events, Shannon Hartnett, a Californian with a pierced belly button, [...]
(Baine, 1999).

Similarly, one article showcasing an overview of the Games touched upon the HE competitors. The author doesn't actually describe the male competitors, he just has a few quotes from them. The female competitors got unique descriptions but no quotes in this article, thus not providing "expert" comments in a similar manner.

Sunday featured the amateur and women's events, which attracted an unusual cross-section of competitors including a Lutheran minister, a nursing mother and a young woman who once climbed Mount Everest. (Hill, 2000).

Previous to the women's breakthrough into this male dominated sport, women were more likely to be seen competing in such "heavy events" as the haggis hurl, and frying pan or rolling pin toss. Only one article mentioned that there was a men's haggis hurl too. This is an example of what used to be known as women's "heavy events".

On Sunday, the Peace Park will host the heavy events such as the caber toss as well as events for women like haggis hurlin' and the rolling pin toss. (Ecker, 2000)

Another example of this slowly transitioning trend was provided by a reporter in Calgary. She excitedly wrote about how this year (1998) would mark the first year of a women's competition in HE. She quickly followed it up by stating what the women had done prior to this.

Previously, women competed in such light-hearted activities [...] as the frying pan and rubber-boot toss, nail hammering and log sawing. (Chambers, 1998).

Haggs hurl or the frying pan toss were considered “unofficial heavy events” as listed in this results section of a newspaper article from 1999.

Unofficial Heavy Events: Haggis Hurl, women’s – Jen Jaecques of Sarnia, 1st place
(Anonymous, 1999 b.).

There were no identifying patterns of infantilization found in articles that mentioned female pipers or dancers. The majority of the articles focused simply on results, previous or next competitions, or the origins of Scottish Highland Dancing.

Do You Have a Boyfriend? There were only a few instances of compulsory heterosexuality²⁷ found amongst the articles. When reporters wrote articles about female athletes or competitors, sometimes they included information about their husband, boyfriend, or children in the article.

One article, written in 2000, showcased a female HGHE talking about throwing over the weekend at the Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games.

“My boyfriend has been competing for three years,” she said of her beau, Don Ried. “If you can’t beat ‘em, join ‘em.” (Kirsch, 2000).

Similarly on the dancing side of HG competitions, authors enjoyed incorporating heterosexual qualities into the article when interviewing females.

[...] Irene McCardle, who is of Irish-ancestry herself but married a Scotsman, has been part of the celebration for years and got involved when her daughters took up highland dancing.
(Anonymous, 2013).

²⁷ “Compulsory Heterosexuality” is the belief that if women showcase their heterosexual roles they receive more coverage (Wright & Clarke, 1999).

There were no compulsory heterosexual patterns present in any of the piping articles reviewed. One article mentioned a male competitor and how he got his wife involved in HGHE. The rest of the articles that talked about male competitors focused on their athletic accomplishments or asked them questions about the Games.

More than Just a Pretty Face. In only one article was sexualisation²⁸ evident. The article was written in 1999 so the Haggis Hurl was still a prominent event for women to contest during a Games.

But 20-year-old Jennifer [...] proved she's more than just a pretty face Friday as she helped open the 16th annual Games by winning the women's open haggis hurling competition. "I wanted to show people the Highland Princess can do more than just smile," she said afterwards.

(McCaffery)

By mentioning her “pretty face” the author incorporated sexualisation into his account. No other articles, including piping and dancing, showcased any other type of sexualisation. There were no references made to male competitors having “more than a handsome face” while competing in HGHE.

Sinewy Women. The theme of appropriate femininity²⁹ did not come across in any articles about heavy events, piping or dancing. However, there was one article that talked about both male and female HGHE athletes in a positive, athletic and gender-neutral tone.

²⁸ “Sexualisation” is when women are idealized and showcased in terms of their sexual attractiveness, with descriptors such as a womanly figure, a focus on physical attributes of the female body, breasts, buttocks, face, hair being used (Markula, 2009).

²⁹ “Appropriate Femininity” highlights their emotional and physical characteristics. Descriptors are used such as small, weak, beautiful, graceful, emotionally unstable, dependent, self-sacrificing. This strategy marks women and men differently in ways such as size and build (Bruce, 2012).

Like the historic Games in the home country, a highlight for many were the heavy events, where spectators gathered over Saturday and Sunday to watch muscular men and sinewy³⁰ women heave massive objects as far as they could. Rain had no effect on the bulging biceps of the competitors or the awestruck audience. (Psutka, 2012)

Hegemonic masculinity was apparent in this article while there was a lack of emphasized femininity, suggesting that the men were “muscular” while women were sinewy and that they both had “bulging biceps” while competing.

The Field Next Door. While women have broken into the sport of HGHE (instead of hurling the haggis), at times they are still not viewed as equal to the men. Some Games have more than one throwing field for HGHE. When this happens one or two divisions will be placed on the less observed field. Typically ambivalence³¹ is when a reporter writes something positive about an individual or group and then later on in the article writes something negative, which undercuts them. In this article the reporter stated the facts of the competition and made sure appropriate credit was given to those who earned it, thus avoiding ambivalence as a pattern.

[...] and the women’s competition, taking place on the field next door. The main heavy events, for the pros, took place on Saturday. That’s not to undervalue the achievements in the next field, such as the world record breaking sheaf toss by Shellie Miller, a U.S. competitor in the women’s heavy events (Bruce, 2000).

The reporter simply stated that the women were located on the other field, or the “field next door”. He promptly included the comment that there were some amazing feats produced on

³⁰Sinewy: meaning muscular in appearance

³¹ “Ambivalence” is when positive descriptors about the athlete are followed by negative or undermining descriptors later on in the article (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

that other field, including a world record throw in the sheaf. There were no articles focused on heavy events, piping or dancing that showcased ambivalence.

The pattern of sexualisation was not evident in the articles but might have been present in the photographs. There were only captions of photographs attached to articles. These captions were just descriptive enough to understand the main point of the photograph. Without seeing the photograph there is no way to determine whether sexualisation based on position or angle of the athlete is present. For example, below is a caption from a Whitehorse newspaper:

Jodi Laluk, the reigning Sourdough Rendezvous Queen, participates in the weight-toss during the heavy event competition at the Gathering of the Clans and Celtic Festival in Rotary Peace Park. Laluk won female athlete of the heavy events. (Ecker, 2000).

Many patterns of female coverage have been identified through the media review. These patterns seemed to correlate with HGHE rather than piping or dancing. The most prominent and reoccurring patterns were gender marking and infantilization. The other patterns of female coverage were less prominent during the review. Some patterns, such as, sexualisation were minimal, while ambivalence was nonexistent in all three categories (heavy events, piping and dancing).

Discussion

Content Analysis. There were three patterns that stood out: the article focus, positive tone of articles and female versus male authors. Mixed sole focus was the highest type of articles. Highland dancing articles had the second highest sole focus, closely followed by HE. This information challenges the research that women do not receive as much coverage as men (Scherer, 2015) but also extends the literature on females not receiving as much coverage

because women in HGHE challenge the traditional gender roles of the sport; such athletes are often not “deemed worthy” of coverage (Sage & Eitzen, 2016). The majority of articles did touch upon two or more events, giving a brief description of each with occasional interviews.

The overall tone of the articles was positive. One-hundred and eleven articles had a positive tone while only three did not. This suggests that the writing was done in a supportive and informative manner. I believe this was done because the majority of the articles were a weekend preview or a recap. The authors wanted their articles to be read and to show that the Games is going to be or was a success. Finally, the split between male and female authors was 43% to 37% respectively. This information extends the literature which suggests that recently females are breaking into the world of media coverage (Sage & Eitzen, 2016). Although the search results did yield more women’s than men’s results I am concerned that this information was not as accurate as it could have been. The notable gender marking of women in HGHE may have been the reason the articles seemed to be equal to or more than the male articles. I believe that the men’s HGHE are simply being referred to as HGHE athletes without gender clarification, which means I did not identify those articles in my search. Examining this pattern further would be a suggestion for future research.

Textual Analysis. I discuss how the coverage of female athletes in HGHE compares to male HGHE athletes and other female participants involved in a Games (i.e., dancing and piping). I answered my third sub-question by examining 114 newspaper articles in Canada spanning 21 years (1995-2015). These newspaper articles were selected based on specific search criteria and examined to see if they actually contained HG information. Ten articles were considered to be a “weekend preview”, which simply listed the Games, where and when it was taking place along

with a few descriptive sentences. Twenty-eight of the articles mentioned all three competitions (heavy events, piping, dancing) during their coverage.

Women's HGHE vs. HGHE. Wensing & Bruce (2003) suggest that gender marking is still apparent in the 21st century. My research supports these findings. In this male dominated sport, HGHE is hypothesised (in my experience by the general population) to be male competitors, therefore reporters end up labeling the female division within HGHE as the “women's” HGHE. This directly correlates with the literature surrounding the gender marking of women in tackle football (Kivula, 1999). The creation of a separate category for women normalizes male athletes in HGHE as compared to female competitors by using a gender descriptor only for females.

There were, however, a number of articles that stated HGHE is contested by both men and women. When reviewing the articles on men's HE, piping and dancing, gender marking was not apparent. This aligns with the literature on gender marking, and the lack thereof in the field of Highland Games. It suggests that men in HE and women who participate in dancing or piping do not have to deal with gender marking in their sport. This is due to the normalization of men competing in physically demanding sports and women competed in less physically demanding sports such as piping or dancing, even though men originally dominated piping and dancing (Webster, 2011). Piping and dancing can be seen as sports that can enhance the competitors' femininity through emphasizing their grace and balance, by wearing ribbons and wedding/engagement rings, thus aligning with emphasised femininity (Bell 2008; Coakley, 1998). This pattern aligns with the two-category gender model as well (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004)

She's a Nursing Mother. Wherever infantilization was present, information was given to the reader that had no direct relevance to athletic success. The quotes used in the results section suggest that infantilization of female HGHE athletes was present and thus supports the existing literature on that topic (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Some comments focused on physical appearances such as a “belly button ring”, while other examples focused on overtly female characteristics, such as an athlete being described as “a nursing mother”. These comments about non-sport related topics or physical appearance did not emerge when reviewing articles on female pipers or dancers. Therefore this finding potentially extends the literature by Wensing & Bruce (2003) as articles did not separate out media coverage at events that were traditionally female or male. This could be researched in the future to explore the presence of infantilization more contextually.

Do You Have a Boyfriend? Compulsory Heterosexuality was found in both HE and dancing articles, which supports the findings of Wright & Clarke (1999). Heterosexual qualities were incorporated into the article when talking to or about a female at the Games. Authors included unwarranted comments about the female interviewee's partner (i.e., husband, boyfriend). There were no compulsory heterosexual patterns present in the piping or male HGHE articles. I think that men who participate in HGHE are hypothesised to be heterosexual and therefore do not feel the need to comment on their partner during an interview, or get asked by the reporter about their marital status. Pipers, dancers and male HGHE athletes do not have their sexuality questioned because their competitions do not challenge traditional gender roles. In contrast to this, women athletes showcasing physical strengths during HGHE competitions start to blur the gap between male and female athletes on the binary scale. Their more frequent linkages to heterosexuality

supports the literature that women need to showcase their heterosexual qualities in order to receive more media coverage (Wright & Clarke, 1999).

More than Just a Pretty Face. Sexualisation was present in only 1 out of 114 articles. This article is 17 years old. The article was based on “Heavy Events” such as the haggis hurl. The author incorporated sexualisation in the article when he talked about how the Highland Princess is “more than a pretty face”. This one comment supports the current research being done on sexualisation (Markula, 2009). None of the other articles had sexualisation present in them thus challenging the research findings of Markula (2009). However, comments about photographs, as explained by the athletes through vivid examples (i.e., shots of chest or butt) suggests that there is still a sexualisation factor for women competing in HGHE. I think photographs that are a little more sexualized, such as a chest shot, get used more often than pictures that do not based on comments from the HGHE athletes interviewed.

Sinewy Women. References to appropriate femininity was not apparent throughout the articles. This challenges the current literature on women in sport. I did not find any indication that authors were trying to highlight emotional or physical traits (Bruce, 2012). In fact, there was one article that referred to the women and men as having “bulging biceps”, which contradicts the pattern of appropriate femininity. In other sports, female descriptors are used when describing female athletes, such as small, weak, beautiful, and emotional (Bruce, 2012). This absence of the appropriate femininity pattern might be because women need to power through the events in order to be successful at them. It is difficult to compete in HGHE if you are small in stature, and thus such descriptors by media would not make sense.

Discussion: All Sub-questions

Four ADs and eight athletes were interviewed, 114 newspaper articles were reviewed and five main topics were examined that connect directly to the current literature: 1) The ADs and athletes found similar strengths when talking about an ideal athlete, with athlete identity being outlined rather than gender identity 2) resources were key in developing a HGHE community, 3) the ADs described the quality of media coverage in general terms while athletes described patterns more evident in the textual analysis of media articles, 4) mentorship and 5) the value of a strengths and hope perspective.

Ideal Athlete. When ADs were asked to describe the ideal athlete, there were two types of responses. Response one was about physical traits with a focus on skill or ability. Response two was about psychological strengths such as the athlete's mindset and motivation. When the athletes were asked about what characteristics produced a good HGHE athlete their responses were very similar to the ADs. Athletes stated that there were physical strengths such as having a throwing background or natural strength as well as psychological strengths, which included a competitive nature and a strong work ethic.

The ADs and athletes were consistent in what they said about the two types of strengths that produce the ideal HGHE athlete. Both ADs and athletes responded with physical strengths as well as psychological strengths. The answers from both ADs and athletes show that in order to be good at HGHE as an athlete you must possess both psychological and physical strengths and that athletes valued their athletic qualities over their gendered qualities.

Physical strengths were the main focus of both the ADs and athletes over psychological strengths. Due to the amount of physical strength required to compete in HGHE it makes sense that ADs and athletes would emphasize physical strengths. However, this differs from what is

traditionally seen as an “ideal” female athlete, qualities that align with grace, balance and heterosexuality (Bruce, 2012). The “ideal HGHE athlete” is thus challenging what is considered to be gender appropriate behaviour for female athletes.

This information extends research in the area of gender logic as laid out by Coakley & Donnelly (2004) because while the athletes and ADs did focus on physical qualities they did not focus on gender logic qualities like having their hair done, or makeup on in order to compete. These women have normalized the fact that when they are on the throwing field they are worried about one thing, throwing, not what others are going to think of them. With this being said, some athletes, from my personal experiences, have said that they need to be wearing makeup and/or their jewelry in order to compete. This is a subconscious way that they are “doing gender”, thus aligning with the literature on “doing gender” (Coakley, 2009).

Resources. It was apparent after talking to ADs and athletes that human resources are the most important resource a person can have when entering and staying in the world of HGHE. Human resources then help athletes acquire other resources. They can help athletes acquire material resources like throwing implements or equipment and can aid financially by providing an invitation to Games that includes travel funds, accommodation costs and/or more prize money.

The biggest financial resource mentioned was prize money. Prize money is one of the most talked about and yet “never talked about” topics in HGHE. The financial resource of prize money helps athletes and ADs continue to put on an exciting Games. For the athletes, prize money helps them improve their sporting lives by paying for equipment, bills, or travel expenses. For the ADs, prize money draws competitors to the Games.

When asked about the equality of prize money between female and male competitors the athletes were more than willing to share their experiences and prize money amounts with me. On the other hand the ADs shared their numbers with me but commented on how the money available was out of their control at times, or they listed points that could be viewed as rationale for why the women were not getting paid as much as the men. In that way, the ADs justified the amount of money to themselves as well as to me. This situation of unequal prize money between female and male competitors supports the literature on women versus men's pay in sport (e.g., Thompson & Lewis, 2014).

There is a definite order to the need for resources when it comes to female athletes breaking into the male dominated sport of HGHE. The flow starts with human resources, then leads to financial resources and finally to material resources. Human resources provide knowledge about the events and where a new athlete can gain her own throwing equipment. The next resource needed in order to obtain material resources such as training equipment is financial. Equipment such as the sheaf or cabers are not readily available to the public for purchase unlike, for example, hockey equipment. Women cannot just go to the store and purchase a caber, learn the basic technique from the internet and head to a HGHE competition. Very few people in North America make the equipment necessary to compete and train for the HGHE, which is why they are so costly. Once financial resources are present, an athlete can then purchase her own set of throwing equipment to use as a material resource to further her success in HGHE.

Media Coverage. The ADs said that media coverage between men and women varied depending on where the events took place, meaning if there were two fields and one was the “main field” then that was where the professional men would compete and therefore where the majority of the

media attention would be focused. The women were placed on the “next field” suggesting that their accomplishments and competitions were not worthy of the “main field”. They also suggested media coverage was dependent on when the events were taking place. In general some competitions span over two days (men) and some are just one day (women). Certain Games stagger the divisions throughout the day. Some will start specific divisions earlier in the morning (i.e., women) thus getting them done earlier in the afternoon, just in time for a new class (i.e., men) to start competing.

Athletes were asked specific questions about the patterns of female coverage and if they had experienced any of them. There were a few patterns that emerged through interviewing the athletes. Two of these patterns tie directly into the findings I documented through the analysis of newspaper articles on Highland Games. The two patterns are gender marking and infantilization. A third pattern emerged when I began to look at what the athletes had said and the captions of photographs attached to newspaper articles; this pattern related to sexualisation.

Gender marking was apparent when athletes talked about being at a Games and “Heavy Events” was used by the announcer only to describe the male competitor’s class. The term “women’s” Heavy Events was subsequently used to describe the female competitor’s class. This supports the literature by Wensing & Bruce (2003), which states that women’s events get labelled as “women’s” unlike male competitions, which are just labelled as competitions. In the newspaper articles this gender marking was very apparent.

Another clear pattern was infantilization. This pattern was brought to light by competitors suggesting that reporters said to them that the athlete did not look like she should be out there throwing or that she should be participating in more “traditional” events such as running or

highland dancing. This directly supports the literature put out by Wensing and Bruce (2003) and my findings from the newspaper articles. These articles showcased other characteristics of female athletes rather than just their athletic prowess. Both athlete accounts and the newspaper articles support that reporters, on occasion, are using infantilization when talking about or to HGHE athletes.

The last pattern that stood out was sexualisation. Although there was only one instance where sexualisation was evident throughout the 114 article search, it was mentioned by more than one athlete. When the athletes talked about sexualisation (Markula, 2009) it was in reference to photographers taking inappropriate photographs showcasing their breasts or buttock. When I reviewed the newspaper captions attached to articles, none of them sounded as if they were sexual in nature. However, listening to the athletes describe the photographs being taken and published about women throwing the caber, or tossing the weight for height made me question if the photographic evidence would line up with what the athletes described. I can only hypothesize that some of the photographs attached to articles that had generalized captions about a woman picking a caber would showcase a sexualized (Markula, 2009) still photograph, which aligns with patterns tied to women's sport photos.

Mentorship. The mentorship from male athletes already dominant in the sport, to female athletes coming in, challenges the research present in other male dominated sports, where female athletes tried to break through (i.e., hockey) (Wong, 2009). However, it extends the literature by adding to the conversation that even though women are breaking into the sport they are still facing gender marking comparable to female football players (Koivula, 1999).

Unlike bodybuilding or lingerie football, the women's HE competitions did not change their dress code; they kept the same rules and merely made the weight of the implements appropriate for the typical female body. The men in HE could have easily suggested that women can only participate if they are wearing micro-kilts and sports bras to compete. However, they did not sexualize the female athletes by doing this.

Athletic Directors were selected based on their involvement in the major Games that are hosted in North America. I hypothesised that the ADs had a different perspective about female participants in HGHEs based on their insider knowledge of what it takes to host and run a successful Games and this was supported when reviewing their answers. It was beneficial to have both sexes of ADs present in my study as it added to the richness of the points being made and led for a good comparison. A solid pattern that stood out was how female ADs saw their first female competitor as a role model entering into the sport, while male ADs viewed her as just another athlete. This simple comparison between the ADs suggests that women and men coming into the sport can be influenced by who they see competing on the field.

Hope and Strengths Analysis. Using the hope and strengths perspective through my research, with the underpinning of duality of structure helped me realize that in sport a lot of times people focus on the deficit perspective, raising questions such as what they did wrong, what they can fix for next time, or how many penalties or turnovers took place. By focusing on hope and strengths, I was able to seek out a much more positive side of sport. New entrants (i.e., women) into a highly male dominated sport (i.e., HGHE) are going to face obstacles or barriers to their involvement. Shifting my focus from those barriers towards the strengths that athletes, ADs and the HGHE community already possess made it possible to understand how these women were able to successfully challenge those barriers and while doing so, gain new strengths. This

perspective gave me the opportunity to explore what the athletes believed were their own strengths (physical and psychological) as well as what community resources (human, financial, material) were used to further those strengths.

Learning about these strengths, I was able to compare them to current literature, which suggests that women in male dominated sports tend to reinforce traditional gender roles by showcasing their femininity while competing (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004; Coakley, 2009). Although the women did mention physical strengths, it was not just physical characteristics that made them an ideal athlete. When athletes talked about the resources available to them in order to further those strengths, the majority of them responded first with human resources. This could be seen as extending the literature on how women are breaking into traditionally male dominated sports, as compared to body building where athletes were required to change their bodies to look more “feminine” (Roussel et al., 2010), or hockey (Wong, 2009), where they had rules imposed to differentiate their behaviour from male players. The women I interviewed are using resources often provided by men who have been involved for a long period of time in HGHE. Having the men mentor them into the sport creates fewer barriers. In no other literature did I find mentorship qualities between veteran male athletes and rookie female athletes being discussed. Based on my personal involvement in this sport, I think the majority of male athletes want what’s best for the sport, which is for it to grow in all capacities. This differs from other sports such as hockey (Wong, 2009), where resistance was met when women tried to create their own leagues. In HGHE, women have been able to slowly enter, often based on a mentorship program through male athletes.

These male athletes, and as time progressed also female athletes, hold the key to being a successful HGHE athlete. They know the proper techniques to be used while throwing, they

know where to get implements for training and they know other people in the sport (i.e., ADs) who can get you an invitation to a Games. This aligns with the duality of structure as laid out by Giddens (1984). He suggests that people shape social practices while being shaped by those practices. The veteran athletes are helping to shape the HGHE community by mentoring in new female athletes, while these new female athletes shape those veteran athletes by providing them with different insights on techniques or lifting. This aligns with Paraschak's (2000) comment on duality of structure, which suggested that "individual actions in sport matter."

Using the hope and strengths perspective thus allowed me to search beneath the surface of women's involvement in HGHE. It allowed me gain better and deeper insights into the ways that women have entered into and remained as an integral part of HE athletics.

SECTION 5 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section I provide a summary of my research, key conclusions, and theoretical and practical recommendations for future research.

Summary

In this study, I looked at the inclusion of female Heavy Event athletes in Highland Games across North America through the accounts of ADs, the elite female athletes who compete, and various newspaper accounts about their participation. I used a Hope and Strengths Perspective (Paraschak, 2013), underpinned by the Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984) framework throughout my thesis process as well as the concept of “gender logic” (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004). I documented the viewpoints of female participants and female and male ADs. I interviewed eight elite female HGHE athletes (four Canadians and four Americans) and four ADs (two female/two male) from across North America to answer my first two sub-problems, which were: 1) What is the historical development of female athlete involvement in North American Highland Games Heavy Events? ; 2) How have female competitors shaped and been shaped by their experiences in HGHE? I completed a ProQuest Canadian Newsstand Complete analysis of newspaper accounts between 1995-2015 about women’s HE, men’s HE, women’s piping, and women’s dancing, using the search terms “Heavy Events” & “Female*”, “Heavy Events” & “Women*”, “Heavy Events” & “Male”, “Heavy Events” & “Men”, “Bagpipe competition” & “Women”, “Pipers” & “Highland Games” & Women”, “Highland Dancing” & “Women”, and “Highland Danc* Competition” & “Women”. 114 articles were selected through this search, and they were subjected to a content analysis that included collecting information from each article and placing it into an Excel file: the date, writer name and gender, newspaper

name and location, newspaper section, headline, number of words in the article and number of photographs and photograph caption(s). I then completed a textual analysis on these articles, to identify if the articles (women's HE, women's piping, women's dancing) demonstrated any of the following patterns identified in previous literature tied to media analysis of women's sport: gender marking (Wensing & Bruce, 2003), infantilization (Wensing & Bruce, 2003), compulsory heterosexuality (Wright & Clarke, 1999), sexualisation (Markula, 2009), appropriate femininity (Bruce, 2012) and ambivalence (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). The content and textual analyses addressed my third sub-question: How does newspaper coverage of women in HGHE compare to their male counterparts (HE participants) and other female participants (dancing and piping)?

Conclusions

In relation to my first sub-question³² the results demonstrated that there has been an increase in women's divisions over the last 20 years and that seeing a female HGHE athlete has the potential to help increase female athlete involvement in the sport. The ideal athlete has both psychological and physical strengths, with more of an emphasis on physical, which aids them in becoming a successful HGHE athlete and emphasises athlete qualities rather than gender-appropriate qualities. Finally, an inequity in prize money has been and continues to exist between elite women and men; the amount of money being paid to athletes needs to become more equitable in order for the women's divisions to continue growing in popularity. More equitable media coverage is being published but it still needs some work, especially in relation to patterns of gender marking and infantilization.

³² SQ1: What is the historical development of female athlete involvement in North American Highland Games Heavy Events?

My second sub-question³³ drew upon a Duality of Structure framework (Giddens, 1984) to explain how women shape and are being shaped by their own experiences in HGHE. My results indicated that athletes also emphasized physical over psychological strengths. Adequate access to human and financial resources is significant in breaking into the sport; human resources lead potentially to finding needed material resources, and to gaining financial resources along the way to support participation. The athlete's recollections of media coverage highlighted that patterns of female coverage still exist, with some being prominent and others non-existent. The results also suggest that the majority of athletes believe sex testing and drug testing should be placed into the HE competitions if they gain elite sport status. Finally, athletes have sporting and community goals they would like to achieve and have successfully navigated around barriers to do so.

My third and final sub-question³⁴ looked at patterns of female coverage in newspaper articles related to Highland Games. Specifically I compared the coverage of women in HE to women in dancing and piping as well as the men in HE. A content analysis of newspaper articles (1995-2015) showed that female and male coverage of HGHE was almost equal, and largely positive in tone. A textual analysis of those articles documented patterns of female coverage in relation to six patterns of female coverage found in existing literature. There were two front runners: gender marking and infantilization. These two patterns were the most apparent through the 114 articles reviewed. Compulsory heterosexuality and sexualisation had very limited numbers of examples, while appropriate femininity and ambivalence had none. When patterns of female coverage did occur, almost all of them took place in articles talking about women in

³³ SQ2: How have female competitors shaped and been shaped by their experiences in HGHE?

³⁴ SQ3: How does newspaper coverage of women in HGHE compare to their male counterparts (HE participants) and other female participants (dancing and piping)?

HGHE. There were no articles where gender marking, infantilization, sexualisation, appropriate femininity or ambivalence showcased a female piper, dancer or male HE athlete.

Recommendations

In this section I provide theoretical and practical recommendations for future research.

Theoretical recommendations. I recommend increasing the sample size of the interview participants to see if there are other similarities between ADs in Canada and the United States. I believe that the ADs' insights were valuable in learning about how administrators view the sport of HGHE. I could also interview those persons identified as being a human resource to further document the types of resources they can and have provided to athletes over the years in a HGHE context, along with the context within which those resources are, or are not obtained.

I also recommend that male athletes be interviewed to explore views and opinions from the other side of HE sport. This information could then be compared to and/or contrasted with the answers provided by the female athletes. I could also include spectators or volunteers who view or help out at HE competitions. The insights from these individuals might shine light on other areas that ADs or athletes have not mentioned, such as the fact that athletes can be seen as entertainers or that money is not one of the barriers keeping athletes from traveling to participate in HGHE competitions.

I recommend that future researchers use the practices of Hope and Strengths for groups that are viewed as marginalized. Athletes and ADs talked about the sport of HGHE growing and developing as the years have gone on; however, they are still a marginalized group within the community. I believe this could allow researchers to gain a better understanding of what "hope

in” a shared future means to their sporting community and how to go about achieving their preferred future.

Another recommendation would be to look at newspaper coverage from the United States to see if the patterns of female coverage are as apparent, similar or different to Canadian newspaper coverage. This would allow for an interesting comparison within North American HGHE communities and the media.

Future research should look to see if American athletes are more advantaged than the Canadian athletes based on financial and material support systems. Sport opportunities for women athletes in the USA are more prevalent than in Canada. Would an America athlete be more “high hope” than a Canadian athlete simply based on funding available and better access to material resources?

Researchers should look in detail at the media coverage of male HGHE athletes. This research could focus on reviewing newspaper articles and looking to see if any patterns of hegemonic masculinity are present. These results can then be compared to the athletes’ interview transcripts to note if they are experiencing any patterns linked to hegemonic masculinity while competing in HGHE. The information from these findings could then be compared and/or contrasted to the findings of women in HGHE. Researchers could look at the frequency of hegemonic masculinity patterns in male HGHE athletes as compared to “emphasised femininity” patterns in the female HGHE athletes.

A review of newspaper photographs would be beneficial for future research. Finding hard copies of newspapers would enable researchers to view the photographs attached to the HG articles. Athletes suggested that they had witnessed photographs in print media that showcased

women's bodies in inappropriate ways. A review of photographs would allow for a better examination of patterns of female coverage, and specifically sexualisation. Being able to see and analyse the positioning and angle of the photograph as well as the body position of the athlete being photographed would be beneficial in adding to the current literature on potentially sexualized patterns of female coverage. This photographic analysis could be used to compare women and men in all three Highland Games competitions (HE, piping, dancing).

Future research could be completed interviewing individuals who are considered to be "high hope" to see if they are more likely to have "high strengths" in their sporting lives. This research would use both the hope and the strengths perspectives to see if individuals who are high hope have a greater chance of having multiple strengths.

Finally, the practical consciousness of the athletes should be explored. This insight will be helpful to advance my findings in this study by helping to explain why female athletes have preconceived notions about how they should dress, act and participate in sport. Giddens' (1984) concept of practical consciousness can be applied to the athletes to document how their hopes and strengths were developed. It can also be used to explore how athletes are "doing gender" and what they might subconsciously be thinking about their appearance while competing.

Practical recommendations. Participants identified the majority of their strengths as physical, however when prompted they were able to list their psychological strengths as well. I recommend that CSAF or any (inter)national governing body of HE send out a newsletter or organize an event to give all athletes competing under their umbrella organization a chance to learn about the Hope and Strengths perspective. I think CSAF or NASGA should be educated on how their community could be actually trying to achieve a preferred future. I think this way of

looking at situations within the HGHE community could be beneficial to the growth and development of their preferred future.

Newspaper reporters and photographers should be educated on current patterns of female coverage in media. I recommend having a section at a reporters' conference that breaks down the patterns of female coverage in sport. Some reporters may not realize that their photographs or articles are framing female competitors in a particular light. The goal would be to challenge the reporters' normalized expectations of what they consider to be a female athlete. After learning this information, the reporters and/or photographers may think more carefully about the choice of photographs they make, and/or the articles they write and publish.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A- The Nine Highland Games Heavy Events³⁵

Braemar: Is the heavier of the two stone throws. The Braemar stone weighs between 12-16 lbs for the women and 22-28 lbs for the men. It is “put” (not thrown) from a standing position. Official rules state that a competitor’s feet are not allowed to move until the stone has left the hand of the competitor. Some judges will allow for a reverse to take place once the throw has been completed; however this is not always the case. The object is to throw the stone as far as possible. In track and field terms this would be done with a stand throw. Both feet are planted on the ground inside of the trig (A “trig” is the area where stones and weights are thrown from. The trig is 4’ 6” wide and 7’6” in length.), the stone is placed between the neck and one hand of the competitors and they must push the stone out and away from their body as far as they can. The competitor must then exit the trig from the back in order for the mark to count. There are generally no sector lines (although some games have them) drawn on the field for competitors to throw their implements between. You get three attempts to throw. The winner of the event can take up to three additional throws (it is up to the judge’s discretion how many) which will count toward their farthest distance or a possible record (s)he are attempting to set.

Open Stone: Is the lighter of the two stones. This event is similar to Shot Put. For the women the stone weighs anywhere from 8-12 lbs and for the men it is 16-22 lbs. The reason it is called “open” is because the competitors may use any type of style or movement when putting the stone. There are three main types of styles, for all of them the stone is placed between the neck and one hand of the competitor. The shuffle is a simple switching of the competitor’s feet, allowing her/him to gather momentum through the trig. The glide, which is used by many shot-

³⁵ These rules have been summarized from Webster’s (2011) descriptions.

putters in track and field, involves the competitor facing the opposite direction from where (s)he wants to throw, pushing off of one leg then landing on the same leg placing her/his opposite foot on the ground while still facing the back of the trig and then putting the stone forward with a twisting action. Finally there is the spin technique, which again is used by many shot-putters. The competitor can start with one foot in and one foot out of the trig if (s)he desires; many competitors opt for the 'South African' style of rotation instead of a traditional full throw. The South African style is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a full throw, which is easier to complete on grass, which is where most games are held. Once the stone has been released, the competitor must keep at least one foot inside the trig, not make any contact with the top of the trig or over the trig and exit from behind the trig for the throw to count.

Heavy Weight for Distance: This is one of two weights for distances where the competitor holds the weight (which is a block, spherical, or cylindrical shaped weight with chain links that extend up toward a handle), which is 28 lbs for women and 56 lbs for the men. They throw this weight by spinning (similar to a discus spin) in the trig (while keeping at least one foot inside at all times) one to two times and then releasing it. The same rules apply to all events that take place within/using a trig. Competitors must keep at least one foot inside the trig, not make any contact with the top of the trig or over the trig and exit from behind the trig for the throw to count.

Light Weight for Distance: This is the lighter of the two weights and is done exactly the same as the Heavy Weight for Distance except this weight for women is 14 lbs and for men is 28 lbs.

Heavy Hammer Throw: The heavy hammer for women is 16 lbs and for men is 22 lbs. The hammer, which many compare to the Olympic Hammer event, has some similarities yet many differences. The hammer itself is made up of a PVC pipe or bamboo shaft with a lead or steel head attached to the end of the shaft through the hole in the middle of the metal. The competitors

stand behind the trig with their feet planted on the ground (some competitors opt to use boots with blades on the toes to dig themselves into the ground and secure their location) and wind the hammer around their head one to four times as needed to create enough speed to release the hammer up and over their shoulders out into the field. The competitors' feet must stay fixed until the implement has been released.

Light Hammer Throw: Light Hammer is exactly the same as the Heavy Hammer, just with a lighter weight. The light hammer for women is 12 lbs and for men is 16 lbs.

Caber Toss: The Caber is a tree that has been cut and trimmed to remove all branches and sometimes the bark from the trunk. Generally it will have a taper where the end that is being picked up is slightly smaller than the end that is being flipped. The smaller end is created so that competitors have an easier time holding, carrying and turning the caber. A women's caber can range in length from 13 feet to 18 feet and can weigh anywhere from 45 lbs to 90 lbs. A men's caber can vary in length from 16 to 23 feet and potentially from 100 to 180 lbs. The competitors have three attempts to flip the caber. The caber is stood for the competitor with the large end up. Competitors then *pick* the caber and carry it with their hands cupped at the small end.

Competitors are allowed to take as many steps as they would like with the caber as long as they pick a line of direction and follow it for at least three steps. The competitor stops quickly, sending the larger end in front of them and then pulls the caber (almost as if they wanted to throw the small end over their head) so that the larger end hits the ground and forces the smaller end to fall over and face away from them. The caber is scored for accuracy (not distance) as the competitor is facing the 12:00 position on a clock face (this is why it is important to establish a line of direction). A judge behind the competitor calls how close to 12:00 the caber fell; usually it ends up between 9:00 and 3:00 with 12:00 being a perfect score. If the caber was not turned, a

side-judge calls the degrees of the angle the caber creates with the ground, which can be anywhere from 10 to 90 degrees. Some games have two cabers for the competitors to toss. They might have a smaller caber for qualifying; each competitor would get up to 3 attempts to flip the caber and if they do so they move on to the challenge caber. The challenge caber is bigger than the qualifying caber and is then used to score the remaining competitors, or is used strictly for prize money.

Sheaf Toss: The sheaf for women is between 10-14 lbs and for men is 16-20 lbs. It is a burlap bag stuffed with rope, straw, twine or mulch. The sheaf is picked up with a pitchfork (two or three pronged) swung and tossed over a cross bar. Each competitor receives three attempts at each height. If they are successful in clearing the height, they advance to the next height. If they are unsuccessful on all three attempts, they are out of the competition. The bar moves up generally 1 to 2 feet at a time. The rules are very similar to high jump or pole vault in track and field. The winner of the competition is allowed to set the bar at whatever height (s)he prefers, which can include inches, if (s)he is trying to set a new record.

Weight for Height: Is commonly referred to as Weight Over Bar or WOB. In this event with the heavy weight (for women it is 28 lbs and for men it is 56 lbs), only the chain links are taken down so the handle is attached to the weight with only limited links. The weight is then tossed over a cross bar with one hand. Many competitors opt for a between the legs swing and release slightly in front of the bar, whereas others prefer the sideways stance and toss. Rarely allowed in competition is a rotational toss, where competitors do a full 360 degree turn and throw the weight up and over the bar. Similar to sheaf, competitors only have three attempts at each height. If they are unable to clear the height they are out of the competition. Heights usually increase in

one foot increments. The winner of the competition is allowed to set the bar at whatever height (s)he prefers, which can include inches, if (s)he is trying to set a new record.

Appendix B- Letter to Potential Participants

Hello Ladies and Gentlemen³⁶,

I hope you have all had a successful season thus far. As some of you already know, I am a graduate student at the University of Windsor in Kinesiology (Canada). I am conducting my thesis on women's involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events and would love to hear about your experiences.

The purpose of my thesis is to learn about the experiences of female competitors in Heavy Events and the role of Athletic Directors in facilitating this event. I would like to set up an interview with you to talk about your experiences and learn what strengths you have use(d) over the years to enhance yourselves and the world of Heavy Events as well as your hopes for this event in the future. The interview will take place over the phone and will last about one hour.

Please take the time to read the attached letter of information. It contains specific details regarding my research project.

Let me know if you can help out with my study. Feel free to contact me via telephone or email at any time.

I think this project will be a fun and informative experience.

Thank you for your time,

Celine Freeman-Gibb

³⁶ Ladies and Gentlemen is a phrase commonly used within the Highland Games Heavy Event world. This greeting in no way suggests that the individuals being addressed are conducting themselves in stereotypical 'Lady like' or 'Gentlemen like' behaviour.

Appendix C- Letter of Information



LETTER OF INFORMATION FOR CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: **Women's Involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events**

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Celine Freeman-Gibb**, from the **Faculty of Human Kinetics** at the University of Windsor **for a Master's Thesis**.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact **Celine Freeman-Gibb** at ***-***-**** or by email at _____. You are also free to contact the faculty supervisor **Victoria Paraschak** 519-253-3000 (2445) or parasch@uwindsor.ca.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

To investigate women's involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events in North America.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

You will be asked to set up a date and time for an interview to take place over the phone.

You will participate in a one hour telephone interview.

You will be asked questions about your experiences as an (Athlete/Athletic Director) who participates in Highland Games Heavy Events.

You will be emailed the interview questions one week prior to your scheduled interview. This will allow you adequate time to review the interview questions and become comfortable with the material.

You will be emailed a transcript to review for accuracy of the information transcribed.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Specifically to Athletes:

You will be asked to come up with a pseudonym to be used during the write up of the study. You may experience backlash (no receiving invitations to certain games or being ignored at competitions) from the HGHE community and your reputation within that community might be altered (if this information were to become public knowledge). During the write up of my thesis pseudonyms will be used at all times and I will limit the amount of identifiable information that could tie you to this study. Information collected will be generalized as a group. Some interview questions may stimulate uncomfortable past experiences. If at any time you do not feel comfortable you are able to skip or withdraw from the study altogether. It should be mentioned that once you have approved your interview transcript, you will no longer have the ability to withdraw from the study.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

You will gain useful information about yourself and the HGHE community such as your personal strengths and how the HGHE community has helped you grow as an athlete and individual. You will gain this information through the interview process.

This study will add to research in the field of strong women, women's participation in male dominated sports, Hope and Strengths Perspective, Duality of Structure, and the history of women's involvement in HGHE.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

No compensation will be provided.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission.

Upon completion of the study information will be kept for 3 months. All information collected will be stored on the researcher's password protected laptop computer. This information will not be released to any other parties for any reason.

Only two people (Celine Freeman-Gibb and Victoria Paraschak) will have access to the audio recordings. You will receive a transcript of the interview via email for review and editing as needed.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. **Once you have approved your interview transcript, you will no longer have the ability to withdraw from the study.**

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

A summary of the research findings will be available on:

Web address: <http://www1.uwindsor.ca/reb/study-results>

Date when results are available: August 31, 2016

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix D- Consent Letter to Participate in Research



CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: **Women's Involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events**

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Celine Freeman-Gibb**, from the **Faculty of Human Kinetics** at the University of Windsor **for a Master's Thesis**.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact **Celine Freeman-Gibb at *** _ *** _**** or by email at _____**. **You are also free to contact the faculty supervisor Victoria Paraschak 519-253-3000 (2445) or parasch@uwindsor.ca**.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

To investigate women's involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events in North America.

PROCEDURES

You will be asked to set up a date and time for an interview to take place over the phone.

You will participate in a one hour telephone interview.

You will be asked questions about your experiences as an (Athlete/Athletic Director) who participates in Highland Games Heavy Events.

You will be emailed the interview questions one week prior to your scheduled interview. This will allow you adequate time to review the interview questions and become comfortable with the material.

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POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Specifically to Athletes:

You will be asked to come up with a pseudonym to be used during the write up of the study. You may experience backlash (no receiving invitations to certain games or being ignored at competitions) from the HGHE community and your reputation within that community might be altered (if this information were to become public knowledge). During the write up of my thesis pseudonyms will be used at all times and I will limit the amount of identifiable information that could tie you to this study. Information collected will be generalized as a group. Some interview questions may stimulate uncomfortable past experiences. If at any time you do not feel comfortable you are able to skip or withdraw from the study altogether. It should be mentioned that once you have approved your interview transcript, you will no longer have the ability to withdraw from the study.

Specifically for ADs:

Your name will be associated with the history section of this study. As you are aiding in providing information specific to those Games in which you host. When it comes to more personal information questions, you will be asked to come up with a pseudonym to be used during that section of the write up of the study. You may experience backlash (Loss of interest to your Games or being ignored at competitions) from the HGHE community and your reputation within that community might be altered (if this information were to become public knowledge). During the personal information section of the write up pseudonyms will be used at all times and I will limit the amount of identifiable information that could tie you to this study. Information collected will be generalized as a group. Some interview questions may stimulate uncomfortable past experiences. If at any time you do not feel comfortable you are able to skip or withdraw from the study altogether. It should be mentioned that once you have approved your interview transcript, you will no longer have the ability to withdraw from the study.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

You will gain useful information about yourself and the HGHE community such as your personal strengths and how the HGHE community has helped you grow as an athlete and individual. You will gain this information through the interview process.

This study will add to research in the field of strong women, women's participation in male dominated sports, Hope and Strengths Perspective, Duality of Structure, and the history of women's involvement in HGHE.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

No compensation will be provided.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission.

Upon completion of the study information will be kept for 3 months. All information collected will be stored on the researcher's password protected laptop computer. This information will not be released to any other parties for any reason.

Only two people (Celine Freeman-Gibb and Victoria Paraschak) will have access to the audio recordings. You will receive a transcript of the interview via email for review and editing as needed.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. **Once you have approved your interview transcript, you will no longer have the ability to withdraw from the study.**

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

A summary of the research findings will be available on:

Web address: <http://www1.uwindsor.ca/reb/study-results>

Date when results are available: August 31, 2016

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study **Women's Involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix E- Consent for Audio Taping



CONSENT FOR AUDIO TAPING

Research Subject Name: (*****)

Title of the Project: Women's Involvement in Highland Games Heavy Events

I consent to the audio-taping of interviews.

I understand these are voluntary procedures and that I am free to withdraw at any time by requesting that the taping be stopped. I also understand that my name will not be revealed to anyone and that taping will be kept confidential. Tapes are filed by number only and stored on a locked computer.

The destruction of the audio tapes will be done 3 months after completion of the study.

I understand that confidentiality will be respected and that the audio tape will be for professional use only.

(Research Subject)

(Date)

Appendix F- Conceptual Baggage

Born into an active family and blessed with the coordination gene, sports became a time for me to have fun and excel. At a young age I was signed up for house league soccer, which I adored. I added more sports to my repertoire as I got older; I picked up basketball, volleyball, swimming and track and field. By the time I was in high school I had three high school sports and two club/travel sports on my timetable. Needless to say my parents made me choose only one club sport; basketball was the winner. Basketball was everything to me, just as soccer had been earlier in my life. That was until it wasn't fun anymore. It felt like a chore I had to do on a daily basis. So once again my interests switched, this time from basketball to track and field. Graduating from high school, I had offers to be a part of both the women's basketball team and the women's track and field team at the University of Windsor. My ultimate decision was based mostly around academic reasons; track and field I felt would be a better fit. It would allow me more flexibility when it came to training times and if I had to miss a practice or two I wouldn't be hindering any of my teammates' development.

Going from mainly team-based sports to an individual sport was a transition in itself. Throwing Shot Put and Weight Throw for the University of Windsor was life changing for me. I should mention that within Canada we only have indoor track and field competitions; anything during the summer is considered club track and field. I was able to develop not only as an athlete but also as a person, a teammate, a leader, a motivator and a coach. As I stated before, transitioning from traditionally team-based sports such as soccer, basketball and volleyball to track and field, forced me to look inside myself. It helped me find the place where I kept my motivation, what/who motivated me and how could I motivate myself. A teammate and fellow HK graduate of mine would always explain to people who told us that our National Titles did not

compare to those of basketball or other *team* sports, that track and field is an individual sport but university track and field is a team sport. To explain this further, at a university track and field championship, such as the Ontario University Athletic (OUA) championships or the Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS) championships, if you place in the top 8 you get points for your team. These points go toward an overall point total for the men's and women's sides. The team that scores the most overall points for the men's team and then for the women's team are awarded the title of OUA or CIS champion. This is the same as winning the final game in a traditional team sport championship. To sum this up, I switched from many traditional team sports to a more non-traditional team sport, with a greater emphasis on individual performance.

As an athlete I was privileged to be a part of three OUA and CIS championship teams during my five years of eligibility. I scored points each year I competed for the lancers in Shot Put at both the OUA and CIS championships. During my five years I placed first ('11, '13) and second ('12, '14) in the OUA championships as well as first ('12, '13) and third ('11, '14) at the CIS championships for Shot Put. During my career I was named first team All-Ontario and first team All-Canadian a combined total of 4 times. I received recognition for my grades as well as athletics, in my last two years of eligibility, by being named an Academic All-Canadian. Overall I would say my career as a university shot-putter was pretty successful and rewarding.

During the summer heading into my fifth year of eligibility my coach (Mike Miller) had started to become more and more invested in competing in Highland Games Heavy Events (HGHE). HGHE are a series of events that take place at Scottish festivals across North America and over in Europe. All of these events involve throwing to some capacity. Mike, a former Windsor Lancer shot put record holder himself, had started competing not long after his university eligibility was used up, as a way to stay in shape. I decided that this was something I

could also see myself doing once my track and field career was over. After a short discussion, collectively we decided that I would enter into one competition (or as the heavy event throwers call them, “games”) and see what happened. The games he entered me into came about a month after I wrapped up my most memorable outdoor track and field season. That year I had been selected to be a member of Team Ontario and got to compete at the Canada Summer Games (CSG) in Sherbrooke, Quebec. After finishing the CSG and returning home with a silver medal (in shot put) he taught me the basics to each event: Braemar, Open Stone, Light Weight, Heavy Weight, Light Hammer, Heavy Hammer, Weight for Height, Sheaf and the most famous Caber (see Appendix A for a description of each event). After competing in my first games, I fell in love with the sport. Wearing a kilt to compete in was great, the people competing were great, the environment around the competition was great and the overall adrenalin rush from throwing was GREAT! Essentially I was hooked after that. The year following the first games was my final year of university track and field. During my final track and field outdoor season I began to compete in more and more games. My love affair with Shot Put had come to an end but my relationships with Heavy Events had just started.

After using my fifth year of eligibility I knew I wanted to further my education but still be involved in track and field. The stars aligned and I was able to begin my MHK and become a throws coach for the University of Windsor. My interests in HGHE continued to grow as my opportunities began to develop, thanks to my first place ranking among Canadian women. I was getting invitations to compete internationally at the World Championships and the North American Championships. Exposure to many new high performance athletes really got me thinking. Talking to these women and hearing their stories of adversity and struggle hit home with me. As my advisor (Dr. Victoria Paraschak) and I were exploring ideas about what to

research for my thesis, she suggested I look into HGHE because that was my new passion (before this I had thought about researching the underrepresentation of female coaches in the Canadian Track and Field world). After the decision to switch sports was made, I had to narrow down a topic of specific interest. Vicky was talking to me one day about another student's research that used a Hope and Strengths Perspective and how it was well suited to certain types of people. Instantly it registered with me that this is what I should use for my thesis. From previous personal experience, I already knew that many of these women had incredible stories to tell about how they came to be involved in HGHE; what better way to showcase their stories then to contextualize it within a Hope and Strengths Perspective?

Many women that I have had the privilege of competing with over the past three years in Canada have mentioned repeatedly that women were not always allowed to compete in HGHE; that it was strictly reserved for men. This reoccurring comment made me curious as to when women were actually allowed to start competing in HGHE in Canada. Once I did a little more investigation, including discussions with fellow competitors, I discovered women had only done these events for the last 20 years.

I've had many experiences through my three years of competing. Some recent memories are when parents of little girls walk up to me and say "thank you for doing this. Thank you for showing my daughter that women can be strong and powerful and beautiful at the same time." Instances like these made me remember that even though I may not feel like a role model, when it comes to elite sport there are always eyes on everything I say and do. I just hope I can be a role model for all the little girls out there who want to throw stones and toss trees. I want them to know that it is fun, it is great exercise and it not only makes you physically strong, but psychologically strong too.

Armed with this knowledge, questions started flooding into my mind. How was the development of women's involvement in HGHE documented in newspapers across Canada? Is there more exposure to women's HGHE in certain Provinces? How does the media portray women when they do talk about them in the HGHE context? Does this portrayal in a 'strong women' sport fit within societal norms for women? How does this portrayal compare to women who participate in HG dancing or piping? How do women in HGHE compare to men in HGHE when they are written about in newspaper articles? Are there pay differences between men and women HGHE athletes? There are many great questions to answer and only a select amount of time to do so. Through my thesis, I am going to try and add to the ongoing academic conversations about women in sport, about hope and strength related to sport, about women's media coverage of sport, and about the history of women in HGHE.

Everyone has a story to tell; all you have to do is listen.

Appendix G- Interview Guide for Athletes

Interview Date	
Name	
Pseudonym	
Country of residence	
Consent form received	YES / NO
Consent for audio recorded interview received	YES / NO

Introduction

To begin, I would like to thank you for agreeing to participate in my study about the experiences of female HGHE athletes.

Everything you say in the interview will be confidential. When I use information from your interview in my thesis I will use your name unless you would like to use a pseudonym.

Before we begin the interview, I would like to verbally ask you if I can record this interview?

[begin recording]

Just to be clear, I will be the only one listening to this recording. If at any point, you would like me to stop recording, please let me know.

Do you have any questions before we begin? If you have any questions throughout the interview please feel free to ask them.

Questions

Background

1. Tell me about your sporting experiences as an athlete prior to becoming involved in HGHE. (Sub-Question 2, [SQ2])
2. Tell me about how you became involved in HGHE. (SQ2)

HGHE Experiences

1. How would you describe your experiences competing as an elite female athlete in HE? (SQ2)
 - a. What do you consider to be the strengths of the competition that help make for a positive experience as a HGHE athlete?
 - b. Are there any resources that could be used to further those strengths?
 - c. How do you feel your experiences, while competing, are similar to and different from male competitors?
 - d. When problems arise how do you address them in order to continue competing?
2. What characteristics produce a good HGHE athlete? (SQ2)
 - a. What types of strategies have ADs used to recruit competitors to their games?
 - b. What strategies have ADs used to retain competitors at their games?
3. Have you ever received prize money for competing? (SQ2)
 - a. If so, what was the largest amount you received?
4. Have you ever talked to a any counterparts about prize money? (SQ2)
 - a. If so, was the amount of prize money awarded to the women equal to the men?
 - b. How did this make you feel?
5. Have you ever been interviewed by the media? (SQ2)
 - a. If so, did the reporter's focus ever drift away from your athletic accomplishments?
 - b. Did a reporter ever use gender marking, infantilization, compulsory heterosexuality, sexualisation, appropriate femininity and/or ambivalence (See Appendix G for definitions)?

- i. Did a reporter ever refer to the Heavy Events as being male and subsequently refer to the Women's Heavy Events as being secondary? (gender marking)
 - ii. Has a reporter ever referred to you or your fellow competitors as "girls" or focused the article on non-sport related topics such as your family or your physical appearance? (infantilization)
 - iii. Did a reporter ever highlight your heterosexual qualities? (compulsory heterosexuality)
 - iv. Has a reporter ever showcased your body, breasts, buttocks or any other body part in their article? (sexualisation)
 - v. Did a reporter ever highlight your emotional or physical characteristics or describe you as beautiful, graceful, small, or compare you to the men? (appropriate femininity)
 - vi. Has a reporter ever described you or your fellow competitors in a positive light and then said negative things later on? (ambivalence)
6. Have you ever felt like you were being talked down to or discriminated against during your HGHE competitions? (SQ2)
 - a. If so, can you provide at least one example?
7. Women have newly entered into this male dominated sport of HGHE that focuses on physical strengths, do you believe sex testing and/or drug testing would be appropriate for the sport? Why or why not? (SQ1)

Strengths

1. How would you describe your experiences within the HGHE community? (SQ2)
 - a. When you started to compete did you feel welcome?
 - b. Did you feel valued?
2. What strengths did you have coming into this sport? (SQ2)
3. What strengths have you enhanced through your involvement in HGHEs?
 - a. Has anyone in the HGHE community helped you enhance your strengths?
 - b. How did this happen?
4. What challenges have you encountered within the HGHE community? (SQ2)

- a. Were you able to use those challenges to build new strengths?

Hope

1. What goals did you have at the start of your HGHE career? (SQ2)
 - a. Why were these goals important to you?
 - b. Were some of these goals achieved as your career progressed?
 - c. How did you plan to reach those goals?
 - d. Did you ever doubt your ability to reach them? Why?
 - e. Did you alter your plans as to how you were going to achieve your goals?
How did that turn out?
 - f. Can you tell me an incident that captures any of these moments?
 - g. What strengths did you use during this incident?

Duality of Structure

1. Has the HGHE community influenced or shaped you in any way? (SQ2)
 - a. Can you provide at least one specific example?
2. How do you think you have positively influenced or shaped the people around you in the HGHE community? (SQ2)
 - a. Can you provide at least one example?

Historical Information

1. When did you first start competing in HGHE? (SQ1)
 - a. If you can remember what year exactly?
2. Your first year competing how many games did you participate in? (SQ1)
 - a. How many games did you participate in this past year?
3. When you first started to compete where were the majority of your games located? (SQ1)
 - a. Accessible by car?
 - b. How far do you travel now to attend a games?
4. During your first couple years of competing, did you receive any prize money? (SQ1)
 - a. If so, how much money?
 - b. How much money did you receive this past year?

- c. What was the largest amount of money you received, ever, at one games?

Demographic Information

Now I would like to collect some basic demographic information. Remember that you can choose to skip any question that you do not want to answer.

1. What is your current age? (age range will be provided in general description of interviewees)
2. What is your ethnicity? (ethnic groups will be provided in general description of interviewees)
3. What is your current job or jobs? (range of jobs will be provided in general description of interviewees)
4. What is the highest level of education you have achieved? (range of education will be provided in general description of interviewees)
5. Where do you currently live? (range of cities and countries will be provided in general description of interviewees)

Closing statement

Those are all the questions I have prepared to ask you. Is there anything else that you would like to clarify or add to your responses?

If there is anything else you think of over the next little while, please feel free to contact me. My contact information is at the bottom of your letter of information.

Once again, I would like to thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to participate in my study.

Appendix H- Interview Guide for Athletic Directors

Interview Date	
Name	
Pseudonym	
Country of residence	
Consent form received	YES / NO
Consent for audio recorded interview received	YES / NO

Introduction

To begin, I would like to thank you for agreeing to participate in my study about the experiences of female HGHE athletes.

Everything you say in the interview will be confidential. When I use information from your interview in my thesis I will use your name unless you would like to use a pseudonym.

Before we begin the interview, I would like to verbally ask you if I can record this interview?

[begin recording]

Just to be clear, I will be the only one listening to this recording. If at any point, you would like me to stop recording, please let me know.

Do you have any questions before we begin? If you have any questions throughout the interview please feel free to ask them.

Background

1. Tell me about how you became involved in HGHE. (SQ1)

HGHE Experiences

1. How would you describe the ideal HGHE athlete? (SQ1)
 - a. What types of strategies do you use to recruit competitors to your games?

2. How would you describe your experiences hosting as an Athletic Director in HE? (SQ2)
 - a. What do you consider to be the strengths of the competition that help make for a positive experience for the HGHE athlete?
 - b. Are there any resources that could be used to further those strengths?
 - c. Can you describe any differences you have noticed between male and female athletes during competition? When problems arise how do the competitors address them in order to continue competing?
3. Women have newly entered into this male dominated sport of HGHE that focuses on physical strengths. Do you believe sex testing and/or drug testing would be appropriate for the sport? Why or why not? (SQ1)
4. Do you think the “ideal” female and male HGHE athletes are different in any ways? (SQ1)
 - i. If so, please explain.
5. Have you ever awarded prize money for your games? (SQ1)
 - a. If so, what was the largest amount you awarded to a male competitor?
 - b. Is so, what was the largest amount you awarded to a female competitor?
 - c. If so, was the amount of prize money awarded equal for the same placing?
6. Have you ever been interviewed by the media? (SQ1)
 - a. If so, did the reporters focus ever shift from your games to a specific athletes’ accomplishments?
7. When was the first time you were interviewed about your games? (SQ1)
 - a. Could you give a specific example?
 - b. What was the focus of the interview?

- c. When was the most recent interview you had about your games?
 - d. Was the focus different than your first interview?
 - i. If so, explain why it was different.
8. How would you describe the media coverage of your games? (SQ1)
- a. Do you believe there a difference in coverage between the events at a games (e.g., heavy events, piping, dancing)
 - b. Do you believe there is a different in coverage between men and women at the games?

Historical Information

- 1. As an AD, when did you first host a Heavy Event competition? (SQ1)
 - a. What year was it?
 - b. What games did you host?
- 2. During your first year hosting, what types of categories were available for athletes to participate in? (SQ1)
 - a. Did you have a Junior's division? Did you have a Master's division? Did you have a Women's division?
 - b. If a women's division was not present the first year you hosted, what year was the first women's division and why did you decide to host a women's division?
 - c. What types of categories are available for athletes to participate in now?
- 3. During your first year hosting, did you award any prize money? (SQ1)
 - a. If so, how much money for each placing?
 - b. How much money did you award this past year for the same placing?
 - c. What was the largest amount of money you've ever awarded at a games?

4. What various games have you hosted as an AD? (SQ1)
 - a. Did these games all have a women's divisions?
 - b. If no, which games did not?
5. What is your first memory of a female HGHE athlete? (SQ1)
 - a. Who was it?
 - b. Where was it?
 - c. When was it?
 - d. Was she competing?

Demographic Information

Now I would like to collect some basic demographic information. Remember that you can choose to skip any question that you do not want to answer.

1. What is your current age? (age range will be provided in general description of interviewees)
2. What is your ethnicity? (ethnic groups will be provided in general description of interviewees)
3. What is your current job or jobs? (range of jobs will be provided in general description of interviewees)
4. What is the highest level of education you have achieved? (range of education will be provided in general description of interviewees)
5. Where do you currently live? (range of cities and countries will be provided in general description of interviewees)

Closing statement: Those are all the questions I have prepared to ask you. Is there anything else that you would like to clarify or add to your responses? If there is anything else you think of over the next little while, please feel free to contact me. My contact information is at the bottom of your letter of information. Once again, I would like to thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to participate in my study.

Appendix I: Saleebey's Strengths-based Questions

Survival questions: Given all the challenges in your life that you have described, how have you managed to survive, even thrive? How have you been able to meet the tests that have been a part of your lot? What was your frame of mind as you faced these trials? What have you been able to learn about yourself and your world during these struggles? Which of these ordeals has given you special insight, resolve, or skill? What special abilities and traits do you now rely on?

Support questions: What people have given you encouragement and assistance? Who are those special people upon whom you can depend? What is it that these individuals offer that is matchless? How did you find them or how did they come to you? What do you think they were responding to in you that made them want to be of assistance? What associations, institutions, and/or organizations have been especially supportive or comforting in the past?

Exception questions: (from the practitioners of solution-focused therapy) When things are going well in life, what is different? Have you had times in your past when these problems and concerns were not a part of your life? If so, what was different? What moments, incidents, or people in your life have given you special insight, resilience, and/or courage? What elements of these special times do you want to recapture?

Possibility questions: What do you now want out of life? What are your hopes, dreams, and visions? How far are you along in realizing these dreams? What people or personal qualities are giving you a boost toward your dreams? What do you like to do? What do you want to do? How would you like to see your life in a few months from now? How can I be of help in reaching your goals?

Esteem questions: When people say nice things about you, what are they likely to say? What is it about your life, your situation, and your accomplishments that give you real self-respect? What gives

you real satisfaction in your life? When did you begin to believe that you can accomplish some of the things that are important to you?

Perspective questions: What are your theories and ideas about what's happening in your life; about what is causing you pain or trouble? How do you comprehend, and make sense of these? How would you explain your situation to someone else?

Change questions: What are your ideas about how things in your life—thoughts, feelings, relationships, behavior, situations—might change? In the past, what has worked for you in making a better life for yourself, or in solving a problem? What do you think you should or could do now to bring about a positive change in your life? Can I help?

Meaning questions: Do you have a set of beliefs or values that give you guidance, courage, and/or comfort? What are these? Can you strengthen or draw upon them?

(Saleebey, 2008, pp. 137-138)

Appendix J- Female Coverage Definitions

Female Coverage Definitions

1. **Gender Marking:** is when only a women's event is labelled as "Women's" For example, the World Cup label is used for the "Men's" World Cup whereas the Women's World Cup label is gender marked with "women" (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).
2. **Infantilization:** hypothesizes that women in male dominated sports are seen as a threat. To make these women nonthreatening, reports use the terms "girls" and focused on non-sport related aspects by using descriptors such as young ladies, using only their first name, family topics, physical appearance, and personality (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).
3. **Compulsory Heterosexuality:** is the belief that if women showcase their heterosexual roles they receive more coverage (Wright & Clarke, 1999).
4. **Sexualisation:** women are idealized and showcased in terms of their sexual attractiveness descriptors such as a womanly figure, a focus on physical attributes of the female body, breasts, buttocks, face, hair are used (Markula, 2009).
5. **Appropriate Femininity:** is another way media portray women, which highlights their emotional and physical characteristics. Descriptors are used such as small, weak, beautiful, graceful, emotionally unstable, dependant, self-sacrificing. This strategy marks women and men differently in ways such as size and build (Bruce, 2012).
6. **Ambivalence:** is when positive descriptors about the athlete are followed by negative or undermining descriptors later on in the article (Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

Appendix K - Patterns of Female Coverage

Patterns of Female Coverage:

1. *Gender Marking*- Women's Heavy Events, Female Heavy Events, Women's competition, Women's Piping, Female category, Women's dancing.
2. *Infantilization*- girl(s), young ladies, using only their first name, family topics, physical appearance, personality.
3. *Compulsory Heterosexuality*- portrayed as mother/wife/girlfriend of males.
4. *Sexualisation*- womanly figure, focus on physical attributes of the female body, breasts, buttocks, face, hair.
5. *Appropriate Femininity*- words that describe female athletes as small, weak, beautiful, graceful, emotionally unstable, dependant, self-sacrificing.
6. *Ambivalence*- positive descriptors about the athlete followed by negative or undermining descriptors later on in the article.

Appendix L- Patterns of Female Coverage Coding

Pattern	Code	Descriptors	Example
Gender Marking	GM	Women(s) Female(s)	Heavy events concluded with Mike winning both the caber and sheaf. The women's division wrapped up with Sally winning the WOB.
Infantilization	IN	Girl(s) Young ladies Use of first names Family topics Physical appearance Personality	Watch out spectators, these girls can throw the caber too!
Compulsory Heterosexuality	CH	Mother- with a man Wife-to a man Girlfriend- to a man	Ellen was the overall winner in today's heavy event competition. Her husband, Dave, who was also competing, never stopped cheering her on.
Sexualisation	SX	Womanly figure Breasts Buttocks Face Hair	As MacLeod tossed the stone her skirt twirled up with speed revealing her spandex covered bottom.
Appropriate Femininity	AF	Small Weak Beautiful Graceful Emotionally unstable Dependant Self-sacrificing	The weights are lighter for the female competitors as they are smaller in size but exceedingly better looking.
Ambivalence	AM	Positive comment directly followed by a negative comment	Smith put on an outstanding show. If only she could receive the same distances the men recorded in the light hammer, she would have won.

Appendix M- Example of Coded Newspaper Article

Search Result Information	Example
Date of Article	July 29, 2009
Writer	Robert LaFrance
Newspaper name	The Victoria Star
Newspaper city	Grand Falls
Newspaper province	New Brunswick
Newspaper section	Sport
Headline	Local athlete dominates NB Highland Games
Total number of words	592
Total number of photographs	0
Photograph caption(s)	0
Coded information	Codes
Inclusion in the headline*	Highland Games
Number of words related to women in HGHE	105
Article focus	Heavy Events and Throwing
Number of photographs related to women in HGHE	N/A
Sex of writer	Male
Tone of article	Positive. Touched upon female athletes as well as male athletes and junior athletes. More focus on Male athletes.

(Krawec, 2014; LaFrance, 2009)

Appendix N- Codes for Newspaper Content Analysis

	Code	Description	Example
Headlines			
Heavy Events	HHE	Headline refers to Heavy Events	“Heavy Event Athletes Break Records”
Piping	HP	Headline refers to Piping	“Pipers Showcased on Weekend at Highland Games”
Dancing	HD	Headline refers to Dancing	“Scottish Dancers Take Home Big Prizes”
Not included	HNI	Headline does not mention Heavy Events, Piping or Dancing	“Weekend Highland Games a Success”
Article Focus			
Heavy Events main focus	HEMF	More than 50% of the words in the article are related to Heavy Events	Article talks about heavy events for most of the article but may mention other activities
Piping main focus	PMF	More than 50% of the words in the article are related to Piping	Article talks about piping for most of the article but may mention other activities
Dancing main focus	DMF	More than 50% of the words in the article are related to Dancing	Article talks about dancing for most of the article but may mention other activities
Heavy Events sole focus	HESF	Article’s only topic is Heavy Events	Heavy Events coverage is the entire article
Piping sole focus	PSF	Article’s only topic is Piping	Piping coverage is the entire article
Dancing sole focus	DSF	Article’s only topic is Dancing	Dancing coverage is the entire article
Mixed focus	MF	The article does not have a sole focus, yet touches on all or some of Heavy Events, Piping and Dancing	An article that talks about the Highland Games touching on many of the events
Photographs			
Unknown	UC	Based on the caption I am unable to determine if the photographs related to Heavy Events, Piping or Dancing*	Men compete at the Highland Games
	Code	Description	Example
Heavy Event***	HEC	Clearly a HE picture	Angus tosses the

			caber.
Piping***	PC	Clearly a picture of a piper/band	The Windsor Police Scottish Pipe Band perform at the opening ceremonies.
Dancing***	DC	Clearly a photograph of dancers	Ami (14) dances the Fling
No caption	NC	No caption is provided*	-
Gender** of the Writer			
Male	GM	Traditionally male name	Dave, Matt, Mark
Female	GF	Traditionally female name	Emily, Ashley, Beth
Ambiguous	GA	Unable to determine gender based on name provided, article content and journalist's photo on the newspaper website	Taylor, Devin, Sam
Unknown	GU	The writer is anonymous or not listed	N/A
Multiple	GM	Article is written by more than one person of both genders	Sarah & Kevin
Article Tone			
Positive	Pos	Supportive, absence of criticism	The atmosphere was encouraging and the women's feats of strength did not go unnoticed.
Negative	Neg	Critical, sarcastic, joking	As the women try to throw as far as the men they do not achieved the same distance even though they have a lighter weight.
Mixed	Mix	Positive and negative comments	The women looked the part wearing kilts and throwing the caber but they were not able to flip it as easily as the men.

* If the article's sole focus is coded as HESF, PSF or DSF, I hypothesise that the photograph is related to what the article's sole focus is.

** Gender is based on the traditional male/female dichotomy and does not account for the individual's gender identity.

*** Codes were added during the analysis process.

(Krawec, 2014)

Appendix O: Codes for Interviews

Pattern	Code	Descriptors	Example
Physical Strength/ Ideal Athlete**	PHS	Naturally strong I am strong Speed* Agility Technique Track and Field background*	“I think one of my strengths is that I am naturally strong”
Psychological Strengths**	PSS	Determination Focus Drive Competitive nature Will to win	“I am a very competitive person”
Media (Patterns of female coverage, GM, I, CH, S, AF, A)	MD	Women’s competition Girls Boyfriend, husband Hair, face, breasts, butt Said something positive then undercut it later Graceful, small, weak	“Sometimes they take inappropriate photos of us bent down... get a full frontal”
Drug Testing	DT	It’s should be present It shouldn’t be present	“I think it should be done to make sure the playing field is level”
Sex Testing	ST	It’s should be present It shouldn’t be present	“It would make the sport more serious”
Challenges/Barriers	CB	I was injured I moved I couldn’t afford it* I got pregnant* I lost my love for it It wasn’t fun I had other things going on	“financially I couldn’t afford to travel to certain Games”
Shaping	SP	Resources	“I love helping new

		Helped them with technique* Helped introduce them Guidance Encouragement Being a role model	athletes learn new ways to throw”
Being Shaped	BS	They helped me They encouraged me* Showed me how to throw Welcoming Family like atmosphere Taught me proper form More positive attitude	“It’s been a very positive experience, everyone is just so welcoming”

* Added to list of descriptor words throughout the analysis process

**At the beginning I only had one category as strengths, as the interviews progressed I created two different strength sections

Appendix P: Patterns of Female Coverage by Year

	GM			I			CH			S			AF			A		
1995	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1997	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1998	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1999	4	0	0	3	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2000	3	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2001	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2002	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
2003	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2004	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2005	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2006	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2007	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2008	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2011	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2012	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2013	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2014	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

HE = Blue, Piping = Red, Dancing = Green

VITA AUCTORIS

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